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May 2019

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## POLICING FAR RIGHT TERROR



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**HATE  
HOPE  
HATE**

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on hate groups and community  
initiatives to combat them.

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## THE POLITICS OF HATE

In this issue of *HOPE not hate* we focus heavily on political violence. In a period where we have had the appalling terrorist attacks in Sri Lanka and New Zealand, the National Action trials in the UK, the convictions of two men for far-right terrorist plots and the conviction of a former nazi-turned Islamist terrorist, there has rightly been considerable media attention and commentary on terrorism, and far right terrorism in particular.

We explore this issue, particularly looking at the policing of far-right terrorism and questioning the seriousness the authorities have dealt with the issue over the years.

Last month also brought up two anniversaries that exposed the consequences of political and ethnic extremism. The first was the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the start of the Rwandan genocide, and then, a week later, we marked the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the London nail bombings. We explore both of these in this issue too.

### BREXIT DANGERS

Brexit continues to divide and polarise our country, and the political impasse continues to erode trust in our political process and our political establishment. The Conservative and Labour Parties have both been punished at the ballot box, with the main winners being the pro-Remain Lib Dems and Green Party.

The Brexiteers are likely to get their revenge in the forthcoming European elections, with Nigel Farage's Brexit Party set to win big. Whether his party will establish itself as a long-term radical-right alternative to the Conservatives

remains to be seen, but let us not delude ourselves into thinking that the Brexit Party (or Farage himself) is a one-issue pony. While the current rhetoric might be focused on Brexit, the voter it attracts (and Farage himself) have very right-wing views on a number of key social, political and economic issues.

Hoping to capitalise on the Brexit turmoil is Stephen Lennon (aka Tommy Robinson), who is standing in the North West region in the European elections. While it might seem inconceivable that he will get elected, in a low turnout election he might only need 110,000-120,000 votes to win. And with his name recognition and with an electorate of 5.4m it is not out of the question.

### A DEBT OF GRATITUDE

I'd like to finish this editorial with saying a massive thank you to Robbie Mullen, our undercover source inside the nazi terrorist group National Action who broke his cover to reveal a plot to kill a Labour MP and a police officer.

In his own words this decision "ruined his life". He has received five Osman warnings, police notices of threats to his life, had to walk out of his job and move house. For the foreseeable future he will be glancing over his shoulder knowing that he is a target. However, he also understands the importance of what he has done and does not regret any of it.

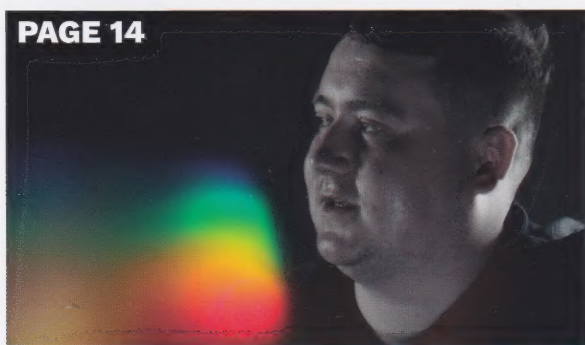
HOPE not hate is working closely with Robbie, both to ensure he is safe but also to use his story to warn of the dangers of far-right extremism to young people.

I am proud and humbled to call Robbie my friend. ■



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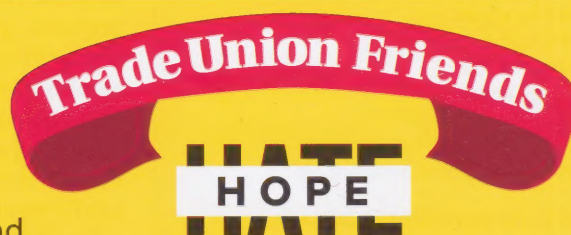
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# Far right fail to capitalise on Bre

By David Lawrence

**T**he 2019 local elections shows another round of disappointing results for UKIP, as the far-right party improved on last year's dismal results but failed to capitalise fully on Brexit upheaval.

Whilst the results constitute the party's best showing since 2016, it has made just 17 gains in the councils announced so far, tallied against 54 losses.

The party has been unable to capitalise on the ostensibly ideal political climate, with anxieties around Brexit at fever pitch and a crisis of mistrust in mainstream politics. The two-party domination of the political landscape that set in in 2017 has subsided, with the main benefactors being the Lib Dems, Greens and Independents, not UKIP or other far-right parties.

UKIP's failure is due to its incompetent leadership, embrace of extreme candidates and heavy defections from the party, especially to Nigel Farage's newly formed Brexit Party, which did not contest the locals.

This is no cause for complacency, however, as any gains for Gerard Batten's UKIP is cause for concern, as the party currently stands closer to the British National Party (BNP) of 2010 than hard right Conservatives.

The even more extreme UKIP splinter group, The For Britain Movement, also won its first seats in **Hartlepool** and **Epping Forest**.

## UKIP

Batten was optimistic that 2019 would be the year that UKIP would re-establish itself as an electoral threat. The party stood 1,400 candidates across the UK, including multiple candidates with known histories of racism, and others with convictions for hooliganism, who sought to stir up local divisions across the UK.

Whilst the electorates across the UK overwhelmingly rejected UKIP's poisonous politics, one success for the party was **Sunderland**, where they won three seats, having failed to stand a single candidate last year. In **Derby**, where UKIP stood a strong slate of 17 candidates, the party won two seats, including in the Alvaston ward, with a majority of 56%. UKIP won one of its three victories last year in this ward with 59% of the vote.



Former BNP councillor Julian Leppert, pictured with Katie Hopkins, won a seat for the For Britain Movement in the Waltham Abbey Paternoster ward in Epping Forest

UKIP's best result came in Tendring, the Essex council which covers Clacton, where it picked up five seats. However, this was well down on the 19 it had in 2015.

Meanwhile in **Oldham**, a former BNP target, an area of high dissatisfaction with mainstream politics and a history of racial tensions, UKIP won no seats but averaged 17%, down from 22% from 2015, when the same seats were last contested.

In **Rochdale**, which is still dealing with the repercussions of the 2012 grooming case, the party came second place in eight wards, with candidates averaging 20%, up from 13.5% last year but down from 25% in 2015.

In **Swindon**, home of UKIP's highly controversial European candidate Carl Benjamin (AKA Sargon of Akkad), the group averaged 11%, compared to 4% last year and 15% in 2015. Martin Costello, formerly of the oddball pro-Trump group Make Britain Great Again and known for his involvement in the Yellow Vests UK, received 14% in the Liden Eldene & Park South ward, coming to third of four.

Examining the results achieved by UKIP candidates only provides half the picture. A major factor in the party's failure to exploit Brexit anxieties is due to its dearth of candidates, standing a third of its 2015 slate, with many once important areas for the party have been completely abandoned. For example, there were no candidates in **Basildon**, and just two in its former key area of **Thurrock**. For Britain, formed only

in October 2017, were able to outstrip or match UKIP in terms of number of candidates in eight councils across the UK.

## THE FOR BRITAIN MOVEMENT

One notable development is that For Britain, Anne Marie Waters' anti-Muslim UKIP splinter group, received its first electoral victories, despite Waters' failure to support local candidates or even give them funds to produce leaflets.

Notably, former BNP councillor Julian Leppert won a seat in the Waltham Abbey Paternoster ward in **Epping Forest**, an area where For Britain has engaged in sustained campaigning, coordinated by the BNP's former elections guru, Eddy Butler. Leppert won with 41%, which translates to just 321 votes.

The low turnout in this ward (23%) underlines that extreme figures can slip in when the majority of the electorate do not exercise their right to vote. Karen King also won a seat in **Hartlepool**, a former UKIP target, with 50%.

Whilst these wins are significant given the extremeness of For Britain, it is important to not to be alarmist. In **Stoke-on-Trent**, For Britain's contemptible councillor Richard Broughan, who defected after being elected on a UKIP ticket, crashed out of his seat in the Abbey Hulton and Townsend ward in eighth place, with ex-BNP Mel Baddeley, now with the City Independents, taking the seat.

For Britain also performed badly in its focus areas of **Leeds**, where it stood eight



# xit anger

candidates and came last place in half of them, and in **Sandwell**, where the party's candidates have been exposed for spreading the racist white genocide conspiracy theory. Whilst For Britain has gloated that it has made "huge gains", it is important to remember that it remains an extremely marginal force in British politics.

## NO ROOM FOR COMPLACENCY

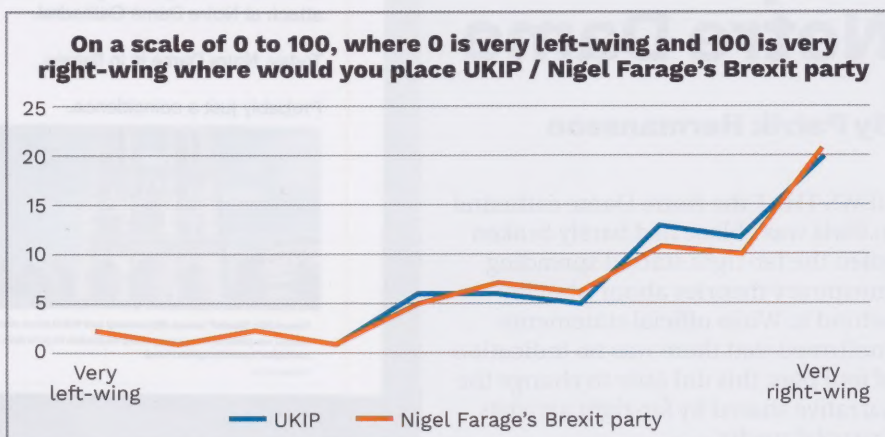
Whilst far-right parties have struggled at the locals, the European elections are due to take place in just three week's time. Whilst UKIP is likely to get crushed by Farage's Brexit Party – our recent polling suggests that support for the Brexit Party is up to 28% – there is a chance that UKIP will receive chunks of the vote due to its status as a household name across the UK. Our polling suggests that much of the electorate appears to have not noticed the adoption of a central anti-Muslim platform by the group, who still overwhelmingly believe it remains a pro-Brexit, anti-immigration party. The European elections are run on proportional representation, which favours smaller parties, and there is a chance that UKIP candidates will slip through the net.

This is cause for concern given the slate of candidates fielded by the party, including South West candidate and minor YouTube star Benjamin, who has refused to apologise for telling MP Jess Phillips "I wouldn't even rape you" on Twitter, and for a series of racial slur-ridden rants. Other candidates include Stuart Agnew MEP, exposed by HOPE not hate to have recently spoken at an event by a far-right pro-Apartheid group, who has top billing in the Eastern region, and Alan Craig, a notorious homophobe, is also representing the party in the North West (albeit in eight place).

Moreover one Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson), the convicted fraudster and founder of the violent anti-Muslim gang the English Defence League (EDL), is standing in the North West, the region which elected then-BNP leader Nick Griffin in 2009.

HOPE not hate is campaigning against likes of Lennon and Benjamin and the hate they peddle. The fewer people who vote, the easier it is for extremists to win a seat. Now is the time to stop them in their tracks.

## Farage is viewed as "far right" by British public



THE MAJORITY of the British public view Nigel Farage's new Brexit Party as right wing as UKIP, the party Farage once ran but now considers to be "far right" and "too extreme".

Research by HOPE not hate reveals the public view actually the Brexit Party as slightly more right wing than UKIP. Asked to position the Brexit Party on a scale of 0-100, where 0 is very left wing and 100 is very right wing, respondents put the party on 74.2, slightly above UKIP's 73.5.

While these results will have little impact on the Brexit Party's chances in the forthcoming European Elections, as there is a considerable minority of voters who back him strongly, it does highlight that Farage's attempts to detoxify his image over the past six months has failed.

Labour voters put the Brexit Party at over 80 on our scale, which is in the "far right" category, whereas Conservative voters mark it as 67.9.

Unsurprisingly those people who voted UKIP in 2015 saw the Brexit

Party in the most favourable light, marking it down at 60.3 – a little to the right of centre.

There were big differences depending on how one voted in the EU referendum, on class and age. Remain voters think the Brexit Party is far right while Leave voters mark it as centre-right.

While clearly the Brexit Party is gaining most support from its anti-EU position, what is getting overlooked by most observers is that Farage is successfully tapping into the anti-politics mood – which is strongest amongst those people with the most strident pro-Brexit views.

These are the same people who most strongly believe that there is not a political party that speaks for them, the political system is broken and support a 'strong' leader.

While Change UK will undoubtedly tap into anger at Labour's Brexit policy and the anti-semitism scandal, there is far less anger amongst these voters towards the political system.

### How the British public view Nigel Farage on the political spectrum

0-20 far left | 20-40 left wing | 40- 50 left of centre  
50-60 right of centre | 60-80 right wing | 80-100 far right





# Far-right's response to Notre Dame

By Patrik Hermansson

NEWS THAT the Notre Dame cathedral in Paris was ablaze had barely broken when the far-right started spreading conspiracy theories about what lay behind it. While official statements confirmed that there was no indication of foul play, this did little to change the narrative shared by far-right activists on social media.

A variety of far fetched ideas were spread through social media channels and image boards. Amongst those blamed for the fire were Muslims, Jews, anti-Christian progressives as well as President Macron's government who allegedly could have planned the fire to steer attention away from Yellow Vest protests.

British Conspiracy theorist Paul Joseph Watson quickly stated that the fire was set deliberately and a fake CNN Twitter account also tweeted that it "was an act of terrorism". Despite the original source of Watson's claim quickly withdrawing the statement, Watson did not amend his post.

A video of a construction worker in the building was shared by Katie Hopkins and Ezra Levant from Canadian far-right outlet Rebel Media with comments questioning the validity of mainstream media's coverage and official statements.

However, a vast majority of the misinformation was Islamophobic. A video was quickly spread across YouTube and Twitter where images of the burning cathedral had been overlaid with shouts of "Allahu Akbar" to suggest an Islamic terrorist attack. But whether the fire was deliberate or not soon came to matter little as the accident was made into a symbol of wider far-right narratives. It was put in the context of an ongoing violent conflict between Muslims and Christian Europeans, the decline of the European culture at the hands of Muslim immigration. American anti-Muslim activist Pamela Geller wrote that "Notre Dame 'Emblematic' Of Christianity's Decline In Europe" and continued "this large-scale vandalism and arson has only taken place after the Muslim migrant influx".

The fire and the narratives around it shows how the far-right is increasingly



Notre Dame Cathedral's spire on fire, 15 April 2019. Photo: wikimedia.org / Antoninnnnn

united in their perception of Europe and the West more generally as being in decline and that Christian Europe is locked in a civilisation struggle with Islam. This view is shared by conservative outlets like Fox News all the way to the openly racist alt-right.

On American TV Channel Fox News, Martha MacCallum commented "there are other religions who would like to see these churches gone". Figurehead of the alt-right Richard Spencer went further and wrote that "If the Notre Dame fire serves to spur the White man into action--to sieze [sic] power in his countries, in Europe, in the world--then it will have served a glorious purpose"

The far-right's attempts to manipulate and exploit tragic accidents is not a new phenomenon. Far-right activists have become increasingly adept at exploiting the subtext of their messages on social media to amplify the feeling of decline and rising insecurity. On the Twitter feed of a far-right conspiracy theorist, a fire in a church is not just a fire in a church. When the messages surrounding it consistently suggest that Muslim immigration is part of an on-going campaign to destroy Europe, a picture of an unfortunate accident or an open question will help to

strengthen these underlying narrative and predictably spark Islamophobic reactions. The alt-right connected website Counter Currents published an article from an anonymous author which explains why the far-right is so eager to amplify and distort events like the fire in Notre Dame:

These events are a reminder that the West is ruled by strangers, who see no difference between a Tunisian goatherd and patriot from Lyon. [...] the burning of Notre Dame is not the beginning of the end, but the end of the beginning. These events open eyes and make the minds of our fellows receptive to the arguments we make.

The narrative has concrete effects. An example is Democratic Senator and Muslim Ilhan Omar immediately became the target of abuse and suggestions she wanted the fire to happen after a standard condolence message on her Twitter account. Likewise, on image boards, it's proposed that the fire should be used to stoke up islamophobia and that people across Europe should attack mosques as retribution.



# Guest column... Reporting terror

**Simon Cox**

THE NEWS that so many people have been murdered in a terrorist attack in Christchurch, New Zealand, is heartbreaking. That the gunman live-streamed the attack is sickening. Depressingly though, it only further highlights the increasingly violent nature of anti-Muslim rhetoric and action.

The killings were carried out by a far right activist Brenton Tarrant who describes himself as "just a ordinary White man, 28 years old. Born in Australia to a working class, low income family."

In fact, Brenton Tarrant is no ordinary white man. He is a self-confessed "eco-fascist". He praises Oswald Mosley and claims to have sought permission for the attack from the Knights Templar, the fictitious group that supposedly inspired Norwegian Anders Breivik, who killed 77 people in 2011.

Shortly before the attack he, like his hero Breivik, posted up a manifesto online which uses stock phrases of the alt-right to justify the murders. He talks of "white genocide" and cites spurious statistics about birth rates to explain away the savagery of his actions. The manifesto is called the "Great Replacement", a phrase widely used in Generation Identity circles.

In his manifesto he describes himself as "an Ethno-nationalist Eco-fascist" and claims he is in favour of "ethnic autonomy for all peoples with a focus on the preservation of nature, and the natural order."

He also defines himself as an "accelerationist", another popular concept within parts of the alt-right, and being the spark to "mobilise a race war and revolution." He adds that he is hoping to "show the effect of direct action, lighting a path forward for those that wish to follow" and "to incite violence, retaliation and further divide between the European people and the invaders currently occupying European soil."

He ends with the words "Europa Rises".

Tarrant name checks Breivik in his manifesto, along with a number of other far right figures and terrorists, including Darren Osborne, who killed one person and injured others when he drove a van into worshippers in Finsbury Park in 2017.

Like Breivik, Tarrant drew inspiration from events around the world. He cited a terrorist attack in Sweden, the 2017 French elections and makes 14 references to grooming scandals in the UK.

He also encourages others to take up his battle. "Advocates assassination of political leaders, especially Angela Merkel, Erdogan and Sadiq Khan. Sadiq Khan, The current mayor of London at the time of writing, an open sign of the disenfranchisement and ethnic replacement of the British people in the British Isles. This Pakistani muslim invader now sits as representative for the people of London. Londinium, the very heart of the British Isles. What better sign of the white

rebirth than the removal of this invader?"

Like many on the far right, he holds a particular hatred for the liberal establishment, whom they blame for facilitating the Muslim invasion. "NGOs [Non-Governmental Organisations]," Tarrant wrote in his manifesto, "are directly involved in the genocide of the European people - Crush these traitor NGOs, kill their leadership, burn down their buildings, bomb their ships, tear down their posters and destroy their membership. Drive them from your lands and give the traitors what traitors deserve: a traitors death."

In this social media age the far right is one small community, united in purpose and action but merely fighting on different battlefields.

While Tarrant appears to have acted alone, the shootings follow a depressingly familiar pattern for the international far right, where opposition to Islam has increasingly replaced race as its key target for their hatred and actions.

The increasingly confrontational tone of far-right rhetoric is matched by their almost universal belief that a civil war between Islam and the West is coming. For some, there is just the resigned acceptance of an inevitable "clash" with Islam, but for others it is to be actively encouraged as it would only be through a civil war Islam will be defeated and Muslims ultimately expelled from Europe.

An increasing number of far right websites actively encourage readers to take pro-active action to actually instigate attacks and spark the civil war which they believe is necessary.

And yet rarely is action

taken by authorities against these websites and commentators.

For too long the authorities have been ignored the growing anti-Muslim rhetoric which, as HOPE not hate polling has shown, is becoming increasingly mainstream.

Sadly, as these latest shootings prove, words have consequences.

Far right and Islamophobic websites and commentators commonly view Islam as a supremacist religion hell-bent on domination over the West. No distinction is made between the vast majority of ordinary Muslims who go about their lives like anyone else and the extremist few. Western Governments, they believe, through their weakness and political correctness are allowing Muslims into Europe and sowing the seeds of Western civilisations own destruction.

Over the coming hours and days politicians and the media will be united in condemnation and that is obviously to be welcomed. But these same people and media outlets should also pause for thought and think about how they have enabled anti-Muslim hatred through their own words or even silence.

Words cannot describe the barbarity of the Christchurch attack, but perhaps one way to honour those who have been killed and injured is for a period of reflection and even debate about the levels of anti-Muslim hatred and Islamophobia in our societies today. It was, after all, this that influenced and drove Brenton Tarrant to commit this heinous crime.

**Simon Cox** is migration lawyer for the Open Society Justice Initiative



# Policing far right terror

By Nick Lowles

**I**t could all have been so very different. If Robbie Mullen had not sent HOPE not hate an email in April 2017 I could have been writing here about another dead British Member of Parliament. I could even have been writing about a dead police officer too.

Jack Renshaw, a prominent neo-Nazi in the North West, was hell-bent on going out with a bang and was only days away from carrying out his murderous plans. Under investigation for grooming young boys on the Internet, Renshaw had decided that he would go out in a blaze of destruction rather than wallowing in a prison cell as a sex offender.

That I'm not writing about dead people is down to former National Action (NA) member Robbie Mullen and the fact that he was passing information to HOPE not hate.

Was Jack Renshaw's case the only one that slipped through the authorities' net or testament to far wider failings in tackling far-right extremism and terrorism?

## NATIONAL ACTION

National Action was banned to considerable media fanfare in December 2016. Trained beforehand

in the Sunday Times, the Home Secretary told the House of Commons that: "National Action is a racist, antisemitic and homophobic organisation which stirs up hatred, glorifies violence and promotes a vile ideology, and I will not stand for it."

Finally, it seemed, the authorities were taking the threat of far-right terrorism seriously and – more importantly – taking action.

But what became abundantly clear after we informed the authorities about Renshaw's plans was that they knew very little about the group.

Counter-terrorist police did not know that Christopher Lythgoe was leader of the group. They did not know that the group was still operating after the ban came into place, let alone that it had acquired a gym in Warrington which they were using as a base. The police did not even have any prior knowledge of several of the people Robbie mentioned as being involved.

They also had no idea that National Action members were using secure communication methods to remain in contact with one another.

It is not inconceivable to draw the conclusion that the banning of National Action was more politically motivated rather than driven by the

concerns of the police or security services.

## WIDER PROBLEMS

Of course, it is impossible for the authorities to know of every single plot and every extremist. The security services have long said, quite accurately, that the public has to be prepared for the fact that some terrorist attacks will succeed. But the police and security service failures in this case pose significant and much wider questions about the policing of far-right terror.

I have long argued that the authorities have not taken far-right terrorism seriously enough. While I totally recognise that the principle terrorist threat in recent years has come from Islamist-inspired individuals and groups, both in scale and severity, the authorities have failed to appreciate that the far right also poses a threat and one that has been growing for some time.

HOPE not hate has identified over 50 far-right activists and sympathisers who went on to be convicted of terrorism or some similarly serious and violent crimes between 1999 and 2016. These include David Copeland, the 1999 London nailbomber who killed three and wounded hundreds of others, as well as Ian Davidson, who in 2010 became the first Briton to be convicted for producing a chemical weapon after he was caught with a jar of ricin.

The list also includes Martyn Gilleard, a member of the Nazi Aryan Strike Force, who in 2008 was sentenced to 16 years for making bombs with which he was plotting to kill Jews and Muslims, and Pavlo Lapshyn, a Ukrainian student living in Birmingham, was given a life sentence for the 2013 murder of 82-year-old Mohammed Saleem and for planting three bombs outside mosques in the Black Country.

More recently there was Thomas Mair, who killed Labour MP Jo Cox in 2016, days before the EU referendum.

The rate of convictions has increased

## POLICE FAILURES



**DAVID COPELAND:** Unbeknown to the police, Copeland had a long history in the BNP and then the National Socialist Movement.

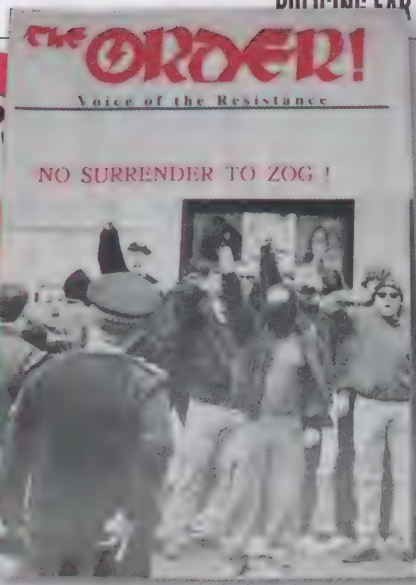
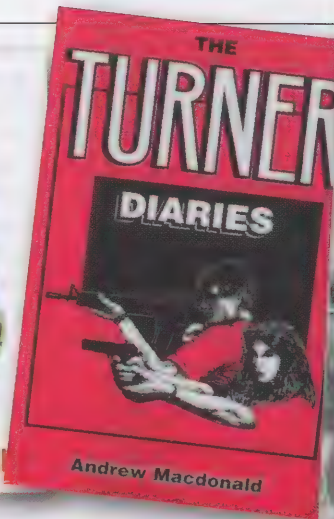


**CHRISTOPHER LYTHGOE:** Unbeknown to the police, Lythgoe was the leader of National Action as it went underground after the group was banned



**THOMAS MAIR:** Unbeknown to the police, Mair had a 20 year history of interest in and support for rightwing extremism, including the ordering of magazines containing from the US





in recent years. In 2017, 28 far-right extremists were arrested or convicted of terror-related charges. They included Darren Osborne, who was given a life sentence for driving a van into worshippers in Finsbury Park and killing one; Ethan Stables, who plotted to attack a gay pride event in Barrow; and Connor Ward, who was found with an array of bomb-making parts and a list of local mosques.

### A BLIND SPOT

Sadly, the authorities have been too slow to appreciate this growing far-right threat. They have understandably been focused on Islamist-inspired terrorism, whilst also struggling with diminishing resources as police budgets have been slashed. But the fundamental problem has been one of mindset.

For years the dominant view within Britain's security and police apparatus was that far-right terrorism was not a serious threat. In 2014 a very senior official in the security services told a workshop at a security conference exploring the terrorist threats over the next 20 years that the far-right posed no serious terrorist threat. He described the far right as "football hooligans" and irrelevant. He said that the police were only monitoring them because of "weak politically correct liberal politicians" trying to please voters.

He clearly resented that the authorities were having to spend any time monitoring the far right.

This view totally ignored the violent rhetoric that had become dominant within the British far right since the early 1990s when groups like Combat 18 (C18) adopted the violent, terrorist and anti-state approach that was common in the USA.

The State – which they viewed as under Jewish control – replaced immigrants as the main enemy of the far right. Inspired by William Pierce's *The Turner Diaries* and Louis Beam's

essay on Leaderless Resistance, Combat 18 and others turned to terrorism and the theory of race war. C18 published magazine after magazine espousing this confrontational approach. The most extreme was *The Black Mag* (issue 3), which contained bomb manuals, encouragement to murder and hitlists of opponents.

*The Order*, another Combat 18 magazine which took the name of a 1980s US nazi terrorist group which killed a Jewish radio host and plotted to poison the US water supply as part of their war with ZOG – the Zionist Occupation Government – revelled in the story of the terrorist group and republished Louis Beam's leaderless resistance essay. Several front covers carried imagery of masked gunman brandishing modern assault rifles.

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*He said that the authorities were only monitoring them because of “weak politically correct liberal politicians” trying to please voters.*

”

*High ranking Security Service officer*

At the same time, a number of neo-Nazi bookclubs and independent magazines sprung up in the UK selling *The Turner Diaries* and its sequel, *The Hunter*, and books like *The Secret Brotherhood* – an account of The Order terrorist group. One of these bookclubs was Life Rune Books, run by John Jeffries, who was also the UK leader of Pierce's National Alliance.

A regular subscriber to National Alliance publications was Thomas Mair, who over the course of ten years spent over \$600 on their magazines and books, some of which contained

bomb manuals and instructions to make homemade firearms. In 2016

Mair killed his local MP Jo Cox, a murder that was widely celebrated by National Action. Like David Copeland before him, Mair was completely unknown to the police or security services. While no firm evidence has come to link Jeffries to Mair, the fact that they lived only a couple of miles apart and Jeffries was the leader of an organisation that Mair went on to sent off \$600 to buy material, it is hard to believe that their paths did not cross.

At its height, in the mid-1990s, C18 had more active supporters than the British National Party (BNP). To counter this, the BNP invited William Pierce to address its 1995 annual rally. Even BNP leader Nick Griffin began using US white supremacist phrases like the 14 words (talking about a future for 'white children'), while many of his followers signed off letters using the slogan 14/88 ('88' = 'Adolf Hitler').

By the turn of the century Britain's far right was changing yet again. C18 was on the wain and the 2001 race riots in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford, coupled with the 9/11 attacks, meant that Islam and Muslims became the far right's principle enemy. Once again, the authorities were slow to understand the changing nature of the British far right.

During the early days of the English Defence League (EDL), the National Public Order Unit, based within the Metropolitan Police and which oversaw domestic extremism, was resistant to categorising the English Defence League as “far right” because the group publicly declared itself opposed to racism and homophobia. Simply opposing Islam, which included banners calling for all mosques to be banned and regular chants accused the prophet Mohammed of being a paedophile, to say nothing of the violence on its demos, did not meet their threshold.

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# ROGUES GALLERY

**It is easy to get the impression from the media and the authorities that far-right terrorism is a new phenomenon. This is wrong. Even before the recent National Action convictions, HOPE not hate has counted over 60 far-right sympathisers convicted of terrorism or some equally violent offences in the last 20 years.**

**Here are a few:**

## DAVID COPELAND (1999)

David Copeland planted three bombs in London 20 years ago, killing three people and injuring over 200. He had been a member of the British National Party, before switching allegiance to the hardline nazi group, the National Socialist Movement.

## ZACK DAVIES (2015)

National Action supporter Zack Davies attempted to behead a Sikh man, believing he was a Muslim, outside a Tesco in North Wales.

Davies carried out his attack in revenge for the murder of soldier Lee Rigby, who was murdered in Woolwich in 2013.

## IAN DAVIDSON (2010)

Ian Davidson was a member of the nazi Aryan Strike Force when he became the first person in Britain to be convicted of producing a chemical weapon.

Davidson had made and stored ricin with the intention of arming the ASF for a terror campaign.

## MARTYN GILLEARD (2008)

Martyn Gilleard was another member of the Aryan Strike Force when he was convicted for possessing bombs, with the intention of targeting Muslims, black and Jewish people.

## THOMAS MAIR (2016)

Loner Thomas Mair murdered his local MP Jo Cox days before the 2016 European Referendum vote. A hardline nazi, Mair had once been in contact with the US-based neo-Nazi group, National Alliance.

## DARREN OSBORNE (2017)

Welsh-based Darren Osborne drove a van into worshippers outside a mosque in Finsbury Park, killing one person. Osborne was radicalised on the internet in a reaction to the Islamist terrorist terrorist attacks that were happening at the same time.

Similarly the Government's Extremism Strategy, published in 2015, gave only passing mention to an increase in Islamophobia, instead focusing almost exclusively on neo-Nazi groups like National Action and Blood & Honour, which hardly existed as a coherent organisation.

A changing narrative around the threat of Islam had far greater resonance for the far right amongst the British public but also drew in new – and arguably more respectable – forces than before. This included the so-called counter-jihad movement, those activists who viewed Islam as an existential threat to Western civilisation. It was from this group that the idea of the English Defence League sprang.

A growing fear of Islam has only been half the story of the changing face of Britain's far right. The other is the growing sense of inevitability of conflict – a view that is held almost universally across the broad spectrum of the far right.

For some it is just a resigned acceptance of an inevitable “clash” with Islam. For others, the civil war was inevitable and preparations had to be made. For a smaller group, civil war is something that is actively encouraged – believing that through a civil war Islam will be defeated and Muslims ultimately expelled from Europe. Each Islamist terrorist incident reinforces this view, drawing in greater numbers of supporters enabled by the growing reach of hate online and those anti-Muslim activists who actively amplify its message across social media.

With such confrontational rhetoric, should we really be surprised when some far-right activists move towards terrorism?

The authorities have been far too slow to understand this evolving threat. After the Westminster terrorist attack in March 2017 the police boasted that the far right had not been successful in exploiting the incident after English Defence League and Britain First demos only attracted a couple of hundred people each and there was no discernable increase in violent hate crime. The authorities appeared totally oblivious to the fact that Paul Joseph Watson, the London-based editor of the US conspiracy site InfoWars, was the most mentioned person on Twitter in the UK that day with his anti-Muslim rants. They also appeared not to understand the significance of Stephen Lennon's (Tommy Robinson) video, made at the scene of the attack, which was

(right) David Copeland  
(left) Zack Davies  
(bottom, left to right)  
Ian Davidson, Thomas Mair,  
Darren Osborne and  
Martyn Gilleard







watched millions of times on different social media platforms.

Sadly, it seems that it took the combined impact of the 2016 murder of Labour MP Jo Cox and Darren Osborne's 2017 attack outside the Finsbury Park Mosque to really wake the authorities up.

### WRITING ON THE WALL

The National Action trial has exposed serious police intelligence failures. It is clear that despite being designated as a terrorist group in December 2016, the authorities were not monitoring it after the ban.

National Action had already begun to re-organise into cells ahead of the ban, circulated documents in the days immediately after about how the group was going to continue underground, and reinvented itself using other names. And all this happened without the police being aware of it.

Worse still, when the Home Secretary banned National Action the police and security services appeared to have no idea of who the leader of the group was. In fact, he was totally unknown to them until HOPE not hate provided evidence of the plot to kill Rosie Cooper and DC Victoria Henderson.

In truth, the authorities should have been alert to the dangers from National Action and its followers long before the ban. NA was, after all, quite open about its intentions. Its leaders would regularly talk about

race war and the need to confront the system at public rallies. Jack Renshaw, often surrounded by police, gave speeches in Blackpool and Rochdale, where he called Jewish people "vermin" who had to be exterminated. Their followers posted the most disgustingly offensive and violent images and slogans on social media, for example glorifying the murder of Jo Cox and vilifying in the most horrendous terms Jewish Labour MP Luciana Berger.

Some of National Action's supporters had already begun to put the violent rhetoric into action. Zack Davies, who was given a life sentence for attempting to behead a Sikh man in 2015 believing he was a Muslim, in a racially-motivated revenge attack for the murder of Fusilier Lee Rigby in 2013, was connected to National Action.

In 2017, a 16-year-old from Bradford was convicted of making a pipe bomb. The court heard how he had been encouraged in his actions by National Action activists. Ethan Stables, who planned to attack a gay pride event with a machete, had also reached out to National Action.

The rhetoric, the imagery and the violence of the group's supporters should have triggered a much earlier intervention from the authorities.

### CHANGE IN APPROACH

With a 30% increase in young people with far-right views being reported

to the Government's anti-terror programme, and further far right terror plots, there is now a growing awareness of the severity of the threat posed by the far right.

MI5 has now taken over the monitoring of far-right extremism, in a move that has been used by the Government as an acknowledgement of its awareness of the growing threat. While MI5 certainly has considerably more resources and capabilities than the police, what is also required a major shift in understanding the problem. Monitoring small and violent far-right groups is perhaps the easy part. What the authorities really need to understand is how the conflict and civil war narrative inspires individuals to take actions of extreme violence and even terrorism.

Further more, with such negative views towards Muslims, such as 44% of Britons thinking that Islam is a serious threat to Western civilisation (with only 28% disagreeing) and a quarter of people believing that the 2017 terrorist attacks reflected a widespread hatred of our society amongst British Muslims, there is a big audience for the far right's anti-Muslim and conflict rhetoric.

Limiting far right terrorism requires as much work in challenging the public perception of Muslims amongst many British people as it does monitoring the known extremists themselves. ■



# I helped stop a far-right terror plot. Are UK police ready for the next one?

By Matthew Collins

**R**obbie Mullen joined the neo-Nazi group National Action in 2015. He'd been impressed by what he had seen of it in the media. He was angry at the world. And he was in search of friends.

Mullen found friends in National Action; young men like him who had always felt on the fringes of society and isolated. There's no progressive articulation of what they felt. They felt emasculated by non-white faces and a deep and burning hatred for a society that had somehow kow-towed to allow this to happen.

They were young men, some supremely talented at hiding themselves from the outside world, living in their bedrooms where their rage, insecurities and anger festered and blossomed through contact with similar and like-minded individuals. It would not be

long until Robbie Mullen, like maybe another hundred likeminded individuals, took all their insecurities and distorted talents and fears and became a hard line pro-Hitler gang that would champion and encourage murder and terrorism.

For Mullen his journey had begun by watching Nick Griffin the then leader of the British National Party (BNP) become his member of the European parliament back in 2010. In amongst Mullen's own, personal traumas and extreme tribulations, Griffin's words and anti-establishment rantings had struck a deep chord. As we often see, Mullen longed for and mourned a sense of Britain or Englishness he had never seen or known. Griffin's popular unpopularity encompassed an amplified Mullen's sense of loss.

By the time Mullen contacted HOPE not hate in April 2017, National Action had been

Robbie Mullen helped stop a far-right terror plot

proscribed by the government and deemed a terrorist organisation. It was almost as if he was the last to realise National Action was on the cusp of real and actual terrorism in their own name.

But if he was the last realise this, Mullen was also someone who knew more about it than just about anybody else in the country. Mullen had risen through schisms and because of his own blind and silent obedience to become an important and integral part of the process. He sat at the shoulder of the group's secret leader Christopher Lythgoe as the planning became more real and the desire became stronger within the group to strike back against Multicultural Britain. He listened to the 'White Jihad' talk, he went through bloody and bruising training sessions, his phone pinged and rang daily as small numbers of





excitable and deranged plotters communicated their hourly dictates and thoughts. It was as if Mullen had woken up in the middle of a ticking bomb.

Robbie Mullen was just 23 when he came to us. He came to us because, unlike the authorities, we'd never stopped going after the group after it was banned in December 2016.

Robbie's story – of how he came to be a member of National Action, how together we foiled a plot to murder an MP and a policewoman, and how he has been treated by the authorities – can tell us so much about the threat posed by the far right today.

In March 2017, three months after the group was banned because it had publicly venerated the killer of Jo Cox MP, we exposed National Action's efforts to regroup and reform under new names but with even more violent intent. It was one of

the sparks that prompted Robbie to send us an email out of the blue offering some nuggets of information.

We are used to meeting with members of far-right groups who want to pass on information or become "informers". Not everyone passes the test, and it is not something we advertise very often. Those who do come to us, like Robbie Mullen, are treated with dignity and respect and we offer immediately contact is made, to work on an exit plan for them.

I had envisaged that one day he would walk away anonymous and unscathed having helped produce an exclusive piece of work that would form the basis of a wider body of work to destroy the group properly, fully and finally. But in the meantime he wanted to supply information that would break the organisation.

Robbie helped us put together

an accurate picture of the group's new dynamics. National Action was deeper and more troublesome than we had imaged. More than anything, we were impressed by the sheer extent to which the group had gone underground and how sophisticated it had been in doing so.

What Robbie had realised very early on after the government ban was that National Action was planning for what we would come to know as "White Jihad" and that it had become an ever more likely eventuality.

In 2016 Jack Renshaw had emerged as the group's "mouthpiece". Despite his boyish demeanour, Renshaw was a nasty piece of work. My colleagues and I had tracked him for years. He'd grown from a vulgar but intelligent fringe player on the fascist scene into a talented vulgar writer and orator.

In 2015, having long given up ever being the future leader of the BNP, he began making a name for himself hanging out with the already disturbingly toxic National Action.

In 2016 he made a number of horrendous speeches about immigrants and, in particular, Jews. In January 2017, Renshaw was finally arrested for two speeches he made the year previous. During the two speeches in question he described Jews and immigrants as vermin. During one speech, in Leeds, where he thought he was not being recorded for publication, Renshaw actively encouraged his audience to hunt down and "eradicate" Jews. Another speech he was charged over came during a public rally on Blackpool beach. He had made similar comments while police officers stood guard to protect the rally from antifascist protesters. Concerned that broadcast of the Blackpool speech may lead to prosecution National Action offered to disguise his face and voice for the broadcast. He refused.

Of course, being arrested for calling for Jews to be murdered would make Renshaw another martyr for National Action. The group loved martyrs. Zack Davies had been



imprisoned for life in 2015 for a machete attack on an Asian man and the year before Garron Helm had been sent to prison for sending vile tweets to the Jewish MP Luciana Berger.

Before Renshaw could revel in his potential martyrdom, he was informed by police they had found evidence on his mobile phones he had been grooming young boys for sex. Aware this would be the death of any plan he had to ever lead the far right in Britain, Renshaw looked for another martyrdom.

Not wanting to be shunned and be forever remembered by the far right as a sex offender, Renshaw instead hatched a chilling plot to be remembered as a “White Jihadi” who murdered, like Jo Cox’s killer Thomas Mair – a hero of Renshaw’s – a woman Labour MP. He would also plot to murder for good measure, the policewoman who investigated him for his child sex offences.

(Renshaw would later claim, when convicted of child sexual exploitation in June 2018, that Hope not Hate had hacked his phones as part of a Jewish conspiracy against him. Independent experts rubbished the notion that this was even possible.)

Renshaw bought a 19-inch machete and began researching. He even used Google to research the slowest and most painful methods of murder.

On 1 July 2017 I was on holiday when I received a message late at night from Mullen, telling me to contact him “ASAP”. What unfolded was a story that was to change his life forever. Out on bail despite his charges, Renshaw had been acting particularly strange for a few weeks. He had made a series of very dark and disturbing social media posts that worried his colleagues in National Action. What they couldn’t understand was why he was seemingly almost suicidal over charges relating to speeches about Jews. He had gone out of his way it seemed, to be “martyred” over these speeches and now he was crying about it? He had dare not tell them he was also facing further charges for child grooming.

Earlier that evening Jack



Robbie Mullen  
with National  
Action

Renshaw had attended a meeting with National Action members and supporters in a Warrington pub to declare his intention to murder his local MP, Rosie Cooper. After killing Cooper, Renshaw would lure the police officer, Victoria Henderson, to meet him and then kill her too. Having murdered both women, he would force the police to shoot him, donning a fake “bomb vest” similar to those worn by suicide bombers attached to groups such as Islamic State.

The phone conversation I had with Mullen set in train a series of frantic calls which ended months later, with arrests across the country of National Action members and supporters to follow the arrest of Renshaw made just a few days after we tipped off the police about his plans. It had been a nervous few days for the police and the MP, least of all because the police could not find Renshaw initially and he was just days away from trying to murder at least the MP.

Between July 2017 when we told the police of the plot and September 2017 when they rounded up other members and supporters of the gang, Mullen continued inside National Action for us in a painstaking and painful continuance inside a group he knew and felt had murderous intent. It was the only way to keep him safe while we also negotiated immunity from prosecution for him.

It was only when warned by Renshaw’s father that one of them was a “grass” did National Action realise Renshaw had been arrested for the terror plot. Renshaw’s father had not mentioned his son’s charges

for child sexual exploitation. Christopher Lythgoe, the secretive leader described by a judge at the Old Bailey of overseeing a “dystopian vision” of race war and genocide even turned to Mullen to help identify the mole in their ranks.

After a series of trials more than a dozen National Action members are in jail because of Robbie’s actions – and two people are alive today.

Questions have been, and should be, asked of the police. They didn’t know National Action was still operating after the ban. They had even told the Home Secretary the group was finished.

Yet, when we brought them the information about the plot, the police threatened both me and HOPE not hate’s chief executive Nick Lowles with arrest for being in touch with a member of a banned organisation. In April 2019 new laws were even brought in that would strengthen the chances of us going to jail in the future, with the introduction of laws against “viewing terrorist propaganda on line” carrying up to 15 years jail.

This was a dark story: of Nazis, murder and despair. But Robbie’s story is also one of hope. Even in the darkest of pits of hatred, there is a spark of light in everyone. Robbie took a decision that turned his life upside-down. Because of that, because of Robbie and people like him who are still out there, we will never stop what we do. ■

**Matthew Collins** is head of  
Intelligence at HOPE not hate



# The coming civil war?

By Nick Lowles

MUCH OF THE counter-jihadist narrative is coded and cloaked to present its adherents as freedom-loving, equality-promoting, human rights-supporting moderates.

Counter-jihadists are, after all (in their eyes), countering the violent and extremist ideology of "jihadism".

But scratch the surface and you find that they have an similarly apocalyptic view of the world – and

equally violent means to achieve their goals.

Some of those behind the London cartoon plot believe that they can ignite a violent backlash from Muslims which, in turn, will trigger communal tit-for-tat violence leading eventually – they hope – to civil war.

And it is only then that Muslims can be finally expelled from 'our lands' and Europe will be 'saved'.

To the counter-jihadists, western governments

are not only too weak to do this but, via their policies of immigration and multiculturalism, are actually helping this apparent Islamic 'takeover'.

Publicly, the counter-jihadists will put forward a series of policy initiatives which they want the authorities to put in place. These tend to include a halt to all immigration from Muslim countries, the banning of new mosques, the outlawing of any form

of Sharia, the licensing of existing mosques and imams, and the banning of the burqa.

But few, of course, believe that any government would have the foresight to even contemplate these proposals, let alone the strength of will to see them through.

Indeed, much of the wrath of the counter-jihadist movement is directed at governments and the 'liberal left' who, they believe, are allowing Islam's takeover because of misguided political correctness and appeasement.

As a consequence, these forces deserve (in the counter-jihadists' eyes) to be punished.

In May 2010 Alan Ayling, writing under the name Alan Lake, posted an article on his 4Freedoms website outlining his belief that "in 20 or 30 years the UK will start to fragment into Islamic enclaves".

He wrote:

"It's time we decide... who we will force in the Islamic enclaves (and who we will execute if they sneak out.) By forcing these liberal twits into those enclaves, we will be sending them to their death at worst, and at best they and their families will be subjected to all the depredations, persecution and abuse that non-Muslims worldwide currently 'enjoy' in countries like Pakistan... It will be great to see them executed or tortured to death."

Lake urged visitors to the site to contribute the names of people who should be sent to the Islamic enclaves and made three of his own suggestions. He suggested

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that the then-Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, should be a candidate on the grounds that he “approves of the creation and use of sharia courts”. He also included Prime Minister David Cameron and the then-deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg.

In the immediate aftermath of Anders Breivik’s murderous spree, in July 2011, which included bombing government buildings in Oslo as revenge for the Norwegian authorities’ ‘appeasement’ of Islam, Ayling wrote:

“Apparently, in a long screed Anders Behring Breivik posted on line, he did this attack to protest against the way that Islam is taking over large parts of Europe. By attacking the leftist politicians that are enabling this, the chickens have actually come home to roost – altho [sic] I’m sure it won’t be depicted that way.”

## DEMOGRAPHICS

Fellow British counter-jihadist Paul Weston – a long-time Muslim hater and conspiracy theorist who once belonged to UKIP and now leads Liberty GB – also believed that civil war between Islam and the West was inevitable.

Because of demographic changes and the rising number of Muslims in Britain, he believed that this conflict could come as early 2025.

In a series of articles written in 2007 by Weston and posted up on the infamous Gates of Vienna blog, arguably the most important counter-jihadist blogsite in the world, he expanded on his apocalyptic vision of the future.

He believed that the growing Muslim population meant that by 2025 there would be just two white European young men to every one Muslim. Given Muslims’ (supposed) predisposition to war and imposing their faith (Sharia law, etc) on the West, conflict would ensue.

Like other counter-jihadists, Weston dismissed attempts to (as they saw it) contain Islam and the hope that moderate Muslims would reclaim their religion. He said that Western liberalism and appeasement only added to the ‘problem’.

With mass deportation not a viable option, all that was left was for white European men to fight back.

“The wholesale and unprecedented racial and cultural transformation of a continent with a history of violent warfare will simply not happen without confrontation.

“We will simply have to. Not for domination, but for survival.”

Echoing Ayling’s predictions, Weston continued:

“Somewhere between 2017 and 2030, during a period of heightened tension, Islamists in France, Holland or Britain will blow up one church, train or plane too many. Retaliation will begin and they, in turn will respond. So will the spiral begin.

“The police are unable to cope now; they will be even less prepared then. The army will be drafted in, and members of the military who are even willing to carry out orders against their neighbours will find themselves massively outnumbered and outflanked. Civilians will be massacred. And so begins the civil war.

“When the violence reaches a tipping point every person – be they moderate or extremist in their views – will be forced to take sides in this war. There will be no bystanders, and no civilians. Moderate Muslims will in all likelihood take the sides of the extremists. This war will resemble none of Europe’s previous conflicts, with their standing armies massed along clearly delineated lines. In the coming conflagration, it will initially be civilians, armed not with tanks and machine guns,

but with knives, bombs and terror, who will call out the dogs of war.”

## THE NORWEGIAN

While Ayling and Weston predicted civil war, both were careful not to put down on paper any encouragement of it. They left this to others.

Among the most vociferous was Norwegian blogger, Peder Nøstvold Jensen, who wrote under the name Fjordman.

Born in 1975, Jensen has long argued that there is a secret Muslim plot to take over Europe. In his self-published book *Defeating Eurabia*, he argued that the only way to save Europe was to deport all Muslims. In another article entitled: Preparing for Ragnarok, for the Gates of Vienna blog, he said that a combination of immigration and multiculturalism would eventually lead to civil war and that people should get ready by stockpiling weapons:

“It is likely that we will have civil wars in several western countries because of the ongoing mass immigration,” he wrote in another blog for Gates of Vienna. “This will finally demonstrate how serious

the situation is and force other Western nations to act”.

It was hardly surprising that Anders Breivik draw heavily on Fjordman’s work in his own 1,500-page manifesto, citing his work extensively over several hundred pages.

“Keep up the good work mate,” Breivik

wrote, in response to one Fjordman article.

“You are a true hero of Europe, although most ppl [people] won’t realise this for a very long time.”

## GENOCIDE

But there is one more British counterjihadist, writing under the pseudonym ‘El Ingles’, who is even more open about advocating civil war.

In a series of articles written over an eight-year period, El Ingles set out the need for this violent civil war, which he readily admitted was likely to end in the genocide of Muslims. He even suggested how this could be achieved.

In November 2007 the Gates of Vienna site published The Danish Civil War, a fictional account of the threat of Islamic takeover in Denmark causing a violent backlash, eventually leading to civil war and genocide.

It told the story of communities increasingly





coming into conflict with one another until the dam broke and there was open warfare. To placate the rising Muslim population, the fictional government created 'Autonomous Cultural Zones' but still the Muslims wanted more.

Then, on one fateful day, Muslim terrorists strike, killing 68 people and wounding 174 others. The Danish people react furiously but the Government is too weak to act, and so begins a cycle of violence as people take the law into their own hands.

This trouble intensifies until civil war breaks out. It is a fight to the death.

The Danish Civil War was to counter-jihadists what the book *The Turner Diaries*, a fictional account of a race war in the US (which inspired the Oklahoma bomber and London nailbomber David Copeland), was to neo-Nazis, and the film *Red Dawn* was to 1980s anti-communists.

In his essays, El Ingles expanded on the themes in his fictional account. Our Muslim Troubles: Lessons from Northern Ireland included a section titled: 'An introduction to Amateur Bomb-Building' and went on to describe how anti-

Muslim paramilitary groups could spark a cycle of tit-for-tat killings that led to civil war and the ethnic cleansing of Muslims.

In the innocuous sounding 'A consideration of the criminal investigation', El Ingles delved further into how an anti-Muslim paramilitary group might work, including avoiding detection and resisting

police interrogation.

The counter-jihadists like El Ingles and others are quite open about how victory will be achieved.

In a follow up to the initial Danish Civil War essay, titled *Surrender, Genocide or what?*, El Ingles updated his thoughts and stated that any attempt to defeat Islam through peaceful or governmental measures was futile.

"I no longer believe that it is possible to solve the problem that Islam has become by means of option one [encouraging Muslims to leave of their own free will], and I have little confidence that even option two [mass deportations] could constitute an effective tool in this regard. I therefore predict that Europe is being swept into a position where it will be forced to choose between relying overwhelmingly on option three and surrendering."

Option three was genocide, he said.

"Stopping and then reducing the Islamization of our countries will require a discontinuity, a completely new dynamic that overpowers these existing trends and that must therefore come from outside of the existing power structure, which it is not capable of generating it."

"If violence does erupt in European countries between natives and Muslims, I consider it highly likely that people who had never done anything more violent than beat eggs will prove incapable of managing the psychological transition to controlled violence and start killing anything that looks remotely Muslim."

"Whatever type of violence we end up seeing between Muslims and their host societies (and I do believe it will be appropriately described by the word genocidal), the Holocaust will not be much of a reference point. I suspect that the recent conflicts in the Balkans

are much more likely to overlap structurally with what we will see in Europe in the near future."

## IT'S WAR!

Stephen Lennon (aka Tommy Robinson) also believes that civil war is inevitable. Lennon has gone on his own journey. From his early days in the EDL opposing only Islamist extremism he now holds the view that Islam is to his current view that Islam is a supremacist religion and Muslim men are driven to rape white girls because they are told to do so in the Qu'ran.

In 2015 Lennon and Anne Marie Waters [now leader of far-right micro party, For Britain] planned to hold a Muhammad cartoon competition in London, similar to one that had been organised by Pam Geller in the US a few months before that was attacked by two Islamist extremist gunmen who were killed. Lennon and Waters were not only fully aware that the cartoon competition would create a backlash, and possibly a violent backlash, but they openly welcomed it, believing that it would show the British public the true intolerance of Islam.

Using the same demographic statistics as used by other counter-jihadists, which showed a rapidly rising Muslim population in the UK, Lennon felt that society would reach a tipping point where conflict would become inevitable.

Within 20 years, he believed, Islam would have 'overrun' Britain and the rest of Europe.

Lennon recognised the potential impact of reproducing the Muhammad cartoons and told people close to him, one of whom told HOPE not hate, that Muslims would react violently and

ISIS sleeper cells would be activated to commit terrorist attacks in the UK. In that event, with the authorities seemingly unable to contain the ensuing violence, Britons would take the law into their own hands.

Central to this would be ex-soldiers who, Lennon argued, would not stand by and watch ordinary Britons be killed.

Two years later, and the day after the appalling terrorist attack in Manchester, an angry Lennon walked through a predominantly Muslim street declaring that there were "enemy combatants" living in the houses. On Twitter he was even more furious. He tweeted out a list of Muslim staff working at the Manchester Arena on the night of the attack, before quickly deleting it and caused panic by at least twice calling out terrorist incidents in Greater Manchester which proved false.

More significantly though, he repeated a claim he had made before: "We are at WAR #Islam".

Two hundred miles away, a 47-year-old man was reading Lennon's tweets with growing anger. He too felt Britain was at war. He believed Lennon when he said that the authorities were not doing enough about it. He agreed that it was left to ordinary people to do something about it.

Darren Osborne became so agitated by what he read and saw that he hired a van and drove into a crowd of Muslims as they left a mosque in north London, killing one and wounding nine others. ■



Tommy Robinson

@TommyRobinsonNewEra

Follow

According to a poll, over 100k Muslims have 'sympathy for people who take part in suicide bombing to fight injustice'. We are at WAR #Islam

12:33 PM · 24 May 2017



# Regulating social media

By Matthew McGregor

WHEN DARREN Osborne launched a terrorist attack on the Finsbury Park mosque, his act of violence seemed to come from nowhere. His partner told the police that over two decades, she had never witnessed Osborne be openly racist or say anything hateful about Muslims. That changed shortly before the attack when he suddenly started accusing all Muslims of "raping children and being capable of blowing people up".

According to the Independent, Osborne's partner said he became a "ticking time-bomb" as he was "brainwashed" by material including posts by Mr Robinson, whose real name is Stephen Yaxley-Lennon. "Darren has been watching a lot of Tommy Robinson stuff on the internet," she said. "I have pleaded with Darren to stop watching this sort of thing, but he just wouldn't stop."

The storm of outrage aimed at social media companies over their hosting of hate content - and the role this content has in radicalising people - is justified, and growing. From individual acts of racism aimed at footballers, to targeted harassment of MPs and other public figures, through to the live-streaming of the Christchurch terrorist attack, social media companies have been providing a platform for a surge in far right activity.

At the same time, social media platforms have given far right activists a remarkable level of access to potential recruits. A small number, including Darren Osborne, are radicalised to the point of activism, sometimes even violence.

So what are the social media platforms doing about the consequences of how they have built their sites? It's a mixed bag but thanks to a mix of pressure from activists, the public and politicians, there has been movement.

Facebook is the biggest player here. Their inaction in the past has provided a massive boost to the far right. They're not the cause of radicalisation but they've provided a platform for hate groups to promote their message and recruit new members. Since the last edition of the HOPE not hate magazine they have made the significant move of removing Stephen Lennon (aka Tommy Robinson) from Facebook. It's a real set back to the convicted fraudster and thug. We know from our sources that he's incredibly



Darren Osborne launched a terrorist attack on the Finsbury Park mosque on 19 June 2017

frustrated by the move, which shows the impact it has had.

To varying degrees, a range of hate groups have benefited massively from their use of Facebook. They've used fake news to spread conspiracy theories, and they've learned how to game Facebook into sowing unwitting users anti-Muslim messages and other taxis content. That's why it's so welcome that just last week, Facebook moved to ban groups like Britain First, the BNP and the EDL. This decision will make an impact. There might be other platforms they can move to but none have the impact of Facebook.

Twitter has also taken steps to clamp

down on hate speech on their platform. For example, they removed the account of "yellow vest" leader James Goddard. Tommy Robinson was removed a while ago. But the grounds on which Twitter makes these decisions is opaque and their hate speech policies are vague. While it's welcome that they've removed these high profile far right personalities, you don't have to spend long looking at the replies high profile figures get to their tweets to know that Twitter hasn't done enough to remove the cesspit of hate that it can quickly become.

YouTube don't seem to get the same media attention as the other two of the big players but in many ways they are



# Hate crimes surge post-Christchurch

By Sam King

now the bad actor of the social media giants. Study after study has shown how YouTube's recommendations prod people into watching more and more extreme content. This is intended to keep people watching to generate ad revenue, but it's having the effect of exposing people to far right content they wouldn't otherwise seek out.

One of the smaller platforms has shown one way forward. Pinterest, a platform where people share photos, links and other content on 'pin boards' detected a problem with people sharing anti-vaccination conspiracy theories and fake news. They responded by "breaking" their own search tool so people could not find the content. "Right now, blocking results in search is a temporary solution to prevent people from encountering harmful misinformation," a spokeswoman told Wired magazine.

It's a start, but as with YouTube's moves to limit the audience for Stephen Yaxley-Lennon's videos, it's not the solution to the problem. The social media companies must do more.

Firstly, we need more transparency. Social media giants need to explain what content is being removed, how quickly and how often.

Databases of removed content should be readily accessible to journalists, policy makers and researchers. These firms act when scrutiny is most intense. We must ensure that scrutiny is easier.

Secondly, more openness is needed when it comes to company policies. Facebook and Teitter are getting better but much more is needed. Firms should set up - or be made to have - external experts involved, empowered and resourced to review how policies are set, and the extent to which they're being enacted. Think of a public editor for a newspaper: embedded internally, and with the resources and authority to ask tough questions and get answers.

Finally, it is essential that the government's newly announced policy of requiring social media companies to have a 'duty of care' towards their users is enacted, and that the regulator they propose has teeth.

Unless real change is brought in by the social media giants, or imposed on them, Darren Osborne won't be the last person to self-radicalize online and carry out violent acts as a result.

EARLY INDICATIONS suggest that there was an increase in racist attacks in the immediate aftermath of the Christchurch shootings. Tell Mama, which monitors anti-Muslim hatred, has recorded a 593% increase in attacks in the week following the shootings.

"You would think since the victims in the New Zealand attack were Muslims praying, there would not be members of this community targeted for further hate in the UK," said Iman Atta, director of Tell MAMA.

The group recorded 95 incidents between 15 March, the day of the New Zealand atrocity, and midnight on 21 March, of which 85 incidents – 89% of the total – contained direct references to the New Zealand attacks and featured gestures such as mimicking firearms being fired at Muslims.

The police have also recorded an increase in attack, though at a considerably lower level than Tell Mama.

It might appear surprising that such a vicious attack on Muslims was met by an increase in hate and violence against Muslims here, but sadly history has told us that this is not too uncommon.

This is partly the consequence of

people with anti-Muslim or racist attitudes being emboldened by the Christchurch attack, just as the EU referendum emboldened racists to carry out attacks.

In fact, it is quite common for there to be an upsurge in attacks against the very community which was initially attacked. There was an increase in attacks on the LGBT community in the aftermath of the 2016 Orlando shootings. There was an increase in antisemitic attacks after Robert Bowers killed 11 at a Synagogue in Pittsburgh.

However, some people have added a caveat about the upsurge narrative. While certainly not dismissing the incidents, they say that the media and community focus on racist attacks encourage people to come forward. They also point to the fact that in offering target communities closer protection and reassurance, more people from that community feel encouraged to report more hate crime.

Perhaps the true answer is somewhere in the middle. Attacks like Christchurch, like Pittsburgh and Orlando before, embolden racists to carry out attacks, whilst the fear generated and the focus from the police encourage more reporting.



Vigil in Wellington on 17 March 2019 for the Christchurch mosques attacks. Photo: Kristina Hoepfner



# ‘Terror doesn’t end when the last bullet has been fired’: Christchurch and the media

**The killers announcement of the attack online, the manifesto, the far-right keywords graffitied onto his weapons and the live streamed video of the attack: the Christchurch attack was both planned for the social media age but also, at least in-part, a product of it.**

**By Patrik Hermansson**

**I**t’s too early to tell exactly how the Christchurch killer developed his world view and what factors ultimately caused him to act, but the numerous ideologies referenced and language used indicate clearly that he developed his worldview online, writing himself that “you will not find the truth anywhere else” other than the internet.

Moreover, his manifesto, as well as the far-right keywords graffitied onto his weapons, function as gateways to those same online environments. He directly and indirectly encouraged others to do what he did, aiming to be a catalyst the same way he himself had been inspired by far-right terrorists in Europe and North America.

Far-right terrorists integrating something akin to a social media strategy into their attacks has become commonplace. Elliot Rodgers, for example, who killed seven people in California in 2014, published several videos, including one right before his attack, outlining his motivations. More recently, the far-right extremist who opened fire in a synagogue in Pittsburgh in October 2018 similarly announced his attack shortly before on the social media platform Gab. In the case of Christchurch, in part because of the sheer scale of the attack itself but also due to the mass spreading of the video and attacker’s manifesto (which included numerous language and symbols common in far-right communities online), the problem of encouraging hate was made particularly salient.

YouTube has stated that, at one point, more than one copy of the video was uploaded on the platform every second after the attack and a blog post by Facebook reported that 200 people



Brenton Tarrant, opened fire on a mosque in Christchurch, New Zealand, on Friday and live streamed video of the attack through his Facebook account

watched the live stream as the attack unfolded. Yet, social media platforms have yet to find a way to counter the spread of hate on their platforms. None of the 200 people that watched the shooting live reported it to Facebook and copies of the video kept reappearing across all the larger social media platforms. Facebook reported that they removed 1.5 million videos of the attack.

The sheer speed of the spread of the video and the many different sites it was published on, including giants like YouTube, Facebook and Twitter but also on far-right forums and over the torrent file-sharing network, sadly demonstrates how some are attracted to gruesome videos. Yet, it’s also an indication of how diffuse, international and dynamic the far-right movement is online.



Despite largely lacking a formalised or hierarchical organisational structure, its supporters are able to quickly assemble and work collaboratively while remaining anonymous behind their screens. Even if most are unlikely to have direct connection to Tarrant, in editing the video so as to circumvent efforts by the social media platforms to remove it, and in sharing the manifesto and producing memes to spread its ideas, the online far right played a vital role in realising part of the motivation of his crime.

A particularly clear example of this came from far-right forum Kiwifarms which became one of the primary hubs to spread the video, refusing to stop it being shared on the site and refusing to aid the police in their investigation into Tarrant. The forum's founder published a response stating:

You're a small, irrelevant island nation 8barely more recognizable than any other nameless pacific sovereignty. You do not have the clout to eradicate a video from the Internet and you do not have the legal reach to imprison everyone whose [sic] posted it

Copycat attacks are common after terror incidents, which as trigger events for similar (and in some cases, reciprocal) attacks. This was also the case with the Christchurch shooting. In the week after the attack five mosques in Birmingham were targeted in a string of violent attacks. Seven people have also been arrested for anti-Muslim hate crimes in Greater Manchester and anti-Muslim hate crime rose by 593 percent in the UK.

## MEDIA RESPONSIBILITY

It's important to understand that far-right terror doesn't end when the last bullet has been fired. The ensuing media coverage and virally replicated memes are also often part of the perpetrators plan to sow division and hatred. Media outlets, including social media platforms, therefore need to take greater care in how and what they publish in order not to amplify an attackers ideas or in any other way contribute to an increased likelihood of other forms of violence.

How to report on far-right terror presents several different, sometimes complicated problems. Several outlets through their reporting played into the hands of the perpetrator. In the UK, the *Daily Mail* made the manifesto available to download for its readers and other tabloids showed parts of the video, contributing to the amplification of Tarrant's message. Sky News Australia also played the footage on television leading a New

# The Great Replacement

TOWARDS A NEW SOCIETY



Tarrant published an online manifesto 'The Great Replacement' detailing his plans to carry out a massacre hours before the attack.

Zealand broadcaster to stop airing the channel.

Joan Donovan, writing in *The Atlantic*, reminded us that in the US in the 1960s, some reporters avoided covering white supremacist groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan, in order to not unwittingly act as their mouthpieces. The technique, called 'strategic silence', was carried out with the hope that it would deny them the attention that they needed to recruit new members and grow their influence. There are several things to learn from this strategy today when it comes to the reporting of terrorism, including that the media should avoid covering gruesome details, as well as discussing the perpetrators ideas, as this can be interpreted as giving them legitimacy. Instead, they should focus on the victims and structural inequality.

However, as Donovan also points out, we now live in a society where access to information is dramatically easier. Even if coverage is responsible and non-sensational, people will know that more information is available online, on social media and other forums. Traditional media's role as a gatekeeper has diminished.

It puts traditional media outlets in a difficult position. Knowing that more details are easily retrievable online anyway, and under debilitating financial pressure, journalists may give into the temptation to deliver explosive and emotive content which plays into the hands of terrorists. To give enough accurate information might be a more realistic compromise.

Indeed, avoiding explaining the motivations of the attacker, the terminology they use and their ideological origins also means that accurate information on that topic might be lacking. This effectively cedes the space where far-right ideas could be contextualised and critiqued to someone less competent or the far-right themselves. Likely resulting in a much more favorable, and dangerous, take on violent ideas.

Lastly, it is important to remember that the issue of reactive reporting of terror events like the one in Christchurch is just one small part of a larger problem. The gunman was motivated by a conspiratorial worldview that perceives of Muslims as a threat and Islam as inherently incompatible with the West. Last year HOPE not hate produced a report on Islamophobia which we highlighted how the organised 'Counter Jihad' movement is disappearing, not because Islamophobia itself is diminishing but because the wall between its views and those of the mainstream is crumbling. Today, anti-Muslim conspiratorial ideas and racism are expressed by mainstream politicians and printed by traditional media. In an open letter Neil Basu, Head of Counter Terrorism Policing in the UK, argued that:

every terrorist we have dealt with has sought inspiration from the propaganda of others, and when they can't find it on Facebook, YouTube, Telegram or Twitter they only have to turn on the TV, read the paper or go to one of a myriad of mainstream media websites

While, for example, ISIS videos are rightly taken down from social media platforms very quickly through concerted efforts by social media platforms and are these days rarely published by traditional media, a similar consistency is not upheld with Islamophobic content. There is less consensus on what is considered unacceptable islamophobic speech. It leads to inconsistent and sporadic bans on some social media platforms while islamophobic rhetoric continues to be defended in both mainstream media and on social media platforms. Ideas mobilised in the shooter's manifesto are regularly espoused by elected politicians across Europe and in the USA and defended under the guise of free speech. It's this existing spread of conspiratorial and Islamophobic ideas which enable shootings like the one in Christchurch and allows its perpetrator to predict and exploit the response to his attack. ■



# There is no place for a hierarchy of oppression

**Jemma Levene responds to a Jewish Chronicle column by Melanie Phillips by stating her comments are wrong. Her comments about Islamophobia are dismissive and inaccurate.**

IMAGINE IF a conservative, although not extremist, Muslim commentator had written an article in a national Muslim paper, suggesting Muslims 'call out the Jews who hate Muslims'. Imagine the article used terms like "fanatical", "deranged", "grotesque" and "manipulative".

Now read Melanie Phillip's piece in the *Jewish Chronicle* where she suggests the Jewish community call out Muslim antisemitism, using inflammatory language, hyperbole and contorted arguments to attack, not for the first time, the Board of Deputies and our wider community.

She begins by discussing how "deranged antisemitism coursing through the Arab and Muslim world" impacts America and Europe. No one sensible would deny that there is a huge issue with antisemitism in Arab states and in most Muslim majority countries. Likewise, it is a fact that there are higher rates of antisemitism among the British Muslim community than among the wider population. She conveniently ignores the part of the JPR research she cites which shows that these attitudes are far less likely to be held by people who have met Jews and count them among their friends. Using a word like "deranged" is inflammatory.

Where I disagree with her approach is in the language she uses to describe the issue, and in her criticism of the British Jewish community's response. She claims that British Jews are silent on Muslim antisemitism, "with a few exceptions". This is just not the case. It is just that the response has been sophisticated and multi layered, an approach that Ms Phillips is not prepared to acknowledge as effective.

Phillips deploys the classic tactic of separating out her idea of "good Muslims" and "bad Muslims". This tactic will be familiar, for example used by elements of the hard left in the Labour Party, where JVL are 'good Jews' and JLM and pretty much the whole of the British Jewish community are "bad Jews" in their framing.

The division of "good" and "bad" Muslims is equally divisive and



Melanie Phillip. (Twitter)

unhelpful here, and Phillips uses it as a "get out of gaol free" card to allow her to use divisive language and threats throughout the piece.

Islamophobia and antisemitism do not manifest in the same way, but it is appalling to state that 'Islamophobia labels as bigotry all adverse comment about Muslims, including truths about Islamic extremism and jihadi terrorism.' Islamophobia is anti-Muslim racism. The word itself might be flawed, just as antisemitism is a flawed term to describe anti-Jewish racism, but both are now commonly used. No definition or working application of Islamophobia excuses Islamist-inspired extremism or terrorism.

Ms Phillips' comments about Islamophobia are dismissive and inaccurate of the very real racism and prejudice experienced by Muslims.

It is true that some of the anti-Muslim hate experienced in the UK and around the world is a consequence of real fear and anger following Islamist-inspired terrorist activity. HOPE not hate's own polling showed a rise in fear of Muslims after the 2017 Manchester and Westminster terrorist attacks. The issue here is that "all Muslims" (including Ms Phillip's "decent" ones) are being held to account for the actions of a few terrorists in the minds of the public.

Can you imagine if, after the Christchurch attack, there was a national upsurge in fear of Australian people? The reality in fact was that Tell

MAMA recorded an almost 600 per cent rise in anti-Muslim hate crime in the week after the New Zealand tragedy.

I wonder if it is a coincidence that Melanie Phillips' piece comes a few days after the annual Nisa Nashim Conference, which saw 250 Jewish and Muslim women come together from across the country, and from across the religious and cultural spectrum from both communities?

The conference gave women an opportunity to meet and chat to women they would not necessarily come across in daily life, but it also tackled real issues like antisemitism and islamophobia.

I myself gave a presentation on antisemitism, and had the opportunity to explain the history of antisemitism and how it manifests today to Muslim women, many of whom had never met a Jew before becoming involved in Nisa Nashim. Rachel Riley was another speaker, who was able to tell her personal story of engaging with the fight against antisemitism.

This year saw the launch of a campaign, #ActiveAllies, with women signing a pledging to stand up for each other's community in the face of hate.

Phillips ends her piece by claiming that the threat from white supremacists is "vastly exceeded by the threat from the Islamic world". I find this a hugely unhelpful rabbit hole down which to disappear. It is important to oppose all extremism - from whatever quarter. We must resist the temptation of creating a hierarchy of oppressions and extremisms, which is the logic behind Phillips' argument.

This is *exactly* what we condemn from those on the left who dismiss antisemitism in the Labour Party because it "pales into insignificance next to the crimes of Israel".

Wrong is wrong and not only should we call it out, but we should be prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder with all those under attack, whether that is individuals or whole communities. ■

*This piece was first published online by the Jewish Chronicle*



## Opinion

# Rwanda: Twenty Five Years On

**Twenty five years on from the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda and its survivors still hope for justice. By David Russell, UK Coordinator, Survivors Fund (SURF)**

THE STORY of Rwanda is a remarkable one. The world has rarely witnessed such intensity of violence and killing as that during the Rwandan genocide, committed 25 years ago. Over one million people died during 100 days of systematic killing of Tutsi in 1994: the survivors are still very much dealing with the consequences.

How the country has rebuilt itself since the genocide is astounding. Travel to Kigali today and you will see high-rise office blocks, international hotels, spotless streets, and zero tolerance of even the most minor misdemeanour. It is almost impossible to believe that the streets were littered with bodies and running with rivers of blood so relatively recently.

The situation though for many of the 300,000 genocide survivors in Rwanda – whether young or old, widow or orphan – remains extremely challenging. The legacy of genocide touches almost every aspect of their lives. Many are impoverished and face complex health problems, such as HIV and recurring trauma. Many others have inadequate shelter or are unemployed. The remains of victims of the genocide continue to be unearthed, and there is the need for support to ensure a decent burial for them.

Closer to home, there are a number of suspected 'genocidaires' still living freely in the UK today, most notably Dr Vincent Bajinya, accused of organising the *interahamwe*, the Hutu militia which committed the genocide. An extradition request for him, and four other Rwandans who are alleged to have organised killings in their local areas, to face justice in Rwanda was refused by the High Court back in 2009. Despite legislation in the Coroners and Justice Act to enable trials of war

crimes committed overseas after 1991 to be heard in the UK, their cases have still not been referred on to the Crown Prosecution Service. The Metropolitan Police have recently announced a new investigation into the case, though that may still take years, and so survivors continue to wait for justice to be served.

Thankfully there are success stories: survivors who have overcome the greatest obstacles to rebuild their lives. Their strength is astounding. They have helped not only themselves to a better life, but those less fortunate than themselves as well. There are many such examples, but most notably the continuing strength of AVEGA Agahozo (National Association of Widows of the Genocide) is testament to the power of collective action to triumph over adversity. AVEGA was set up by a group of 50 widows in the immediate aftermath of the genocide to console one another, and now represents around 20,000 widows across Rwanda.

Through the funding raised by Survivors Fund (SURF) from donors including the UK Department for International Development and Comic Relief, AVEGA has extended its initial counselling support to provide wraparound support for the vulnerable survivors, from healthcare to housing, livelihood development to legal aid. With the right support, AVEGA has proven that survivors can rebuild their lives and look to a better future.

As many widows are now ageing, and without the families that traditionally would support them, the need for AVEGA's help is ever-more critical. The importance of counselling is more important today than ever, as younger survivors begin to have children of their own and require mental health support

to understand how to address the risk of the intergenerational inheritance of trauma which has plagued many second-generation Holocaust survivors.

What can we learn from the survivors, and why is it still important to remember their plight 25 years on? From 15 years of work in Rwanda, the message I hear time and again from survivors is twofold: to keep alive the memory of those who died in the killings, and to honour them by ensuring that those who survived can rebuild their lives. In so doing, there will at least be some justice in denying the perpetrators their hope to see survivors continue to suffer.

For survivors, they seek restorative justice, an end towards which we can all contribute in a small but meaningful way in contributing to the programmes that enable survivors to rebuild their lives: through a secure home, livelihood and future. In so doing, we will truly honour the memory of the victims.

As we approach the anniversary of the start of the genocide on 7 April, it is time to reflect. Over one million Tutsis and a number of their Hutu sympathisers were killed in the 1994 genocide. As we remember them, remember as well the 300,000 survivors still living with the consequences of the genocide 25 years on. ■

**David Russell** is UK Coordinator of Survivors Fund (SURF), a UK-based international charity representing and supporting the Survivors of the Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. For further information, please visit [www.survivors-fund.org.uk](http://www.survivors-fund.org.uk)



# Rwanda timeline: How

APRIL 1994

## 6 APRIL 1994

President Habyarimana (pictured) and Burundian President Cyprien Ntaryamira are killed when the Rwandan leader's plane is shot down as it returns from peace talks with the rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF).

Hutu extremists opposed to the Arusha Peace Accords are believed to be behind the attack. Within 42 minutes roadblocks are being set up across the country by elements of the army and Hutu Interahamwe militia in what is clearly a pre-planned operation.



## 15 APRIL ESTIMATED DEATH TOLL 64,000

Thousands of Tutsis gathered at Nyarubuye Church are slaughtered.



## 25 APRIL ESTIMATED DEATH TOLL 160,000

Pope John Paul II uses the word "genocide" for the first time in describing the situation in Rwanda. The same day, Czechoslovakia and Argentina introduce a draft resolution to the UN Security Council which includes the word "genocide".

## 9, 10 AND 11 APRIL ESTIMATED DEATH TOLL 32,000

French, Belgian and American civilians are rescued by their governments. The International Red Cross (IRC) estimates that tens of thousands have been slaughtered. UN soldiers protecting 2,000 Tutsis at a school are ordered to withdraw to Kigali airport. Most of the Tutsis are killed after the UN soldiers' departure. General Dallaire requests the doubling of his force to 5,000.

## 21 APRIL ESTIMATED DEATH TOLL 112,000

The UN cuts the number of its forces in Rwanda by 90% to just 270 troops. The White House issues a statement calling on four Rwandan military leaders to "end the violence". It is the only official comment issued by the White House during the 100 days.

## WANTED FOR GENOCIDE



## INDICTED

On April 19, 1994, the U.S. State Department announced that it had issued indictments for genocide against four Rwandan military leaders: Pauline Nyirahurwa, Jean-Paul Akayesu, Théodore Sindiga, and Georges Ndirakobuca. The indictments were issued under the U.S. Genocide Act of 1948, which makes it a crime for U.S. citizens or residents to commit or attempt to commit genocide, or to conspire with others to do so.

UP TO U.S. \$5,000,000 REWARD

## 14 APRIL

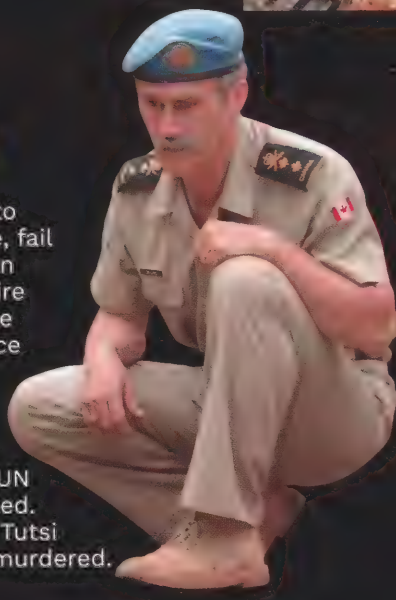
Belgium withdraws its troops from the UN peacekeeping force in Rwanda.

Exhumed skeletons of victims of massacre at the Murambi Technical School in Rwanda



## 7 APRIL ESTIMATED DEATH TOLL 8,000

UN forces, unwilling to breach their mandate, fail to intervene. Canadian General Romeo Dallaire (pictured), head of the UN peacekeeping force in Rwanda, is told by headquarters not to intervene and to avoid armed conflict. Ten Belgian UN peacekeepers are killed. Hutu moderates and Tutsi political leaders are murdered.



## 19 APRIL ESTIMATED DEATH TOLL 100,000

Human Rights Watch estimates the number of dead at 100,000 and calls on the UN Security Council to use the word "genocide". Belgian troops leave Rwanda and General Dallaire's force is down to 2,100. He will soon lose communication lines to most of the country and will have only a satellite link to the outside world.

## 30 APRIL ESTIMATED DEATH TOLL 190,000

The UN agrees a resolution condemning the killing but omits the word "genocide". Tens of thousands of refugees flee into neighbouring Burundi, Tanzania and Zaire.



Refugees Fleeing Rwanda



# the genocide unfolded

## 1 MAY ESTIMATED DEATH TOLL 200,000

A US Defense Department discussion paper, prepared for a meeting of officials who have day-to-day responsibility on the crisis, is filled with cautions about the US becoming committed to taking action. The word genocide is a concern. "Be careful. Legal at State was worried about this yesterday – Genocide finding could commit [the US] to actually 'do something'."



## 5 MAY ESTIMATED DEATH TOLL 232,000

A Pentagon memo rejects a proposal from General Dallaire and State Department officials to diminish the killings by using Pentagon technology to jam the extremists' hate radio transmissions.

## 17 MAY ESTIMATED DEATH TOLL 328,000

Six weeks into the genocide the UN Security Council finally issues a fresh resolution saying that "acts of genocide may have been committed". It also agrees to send 5,500 mainly African troops with new powers to defend civilians, but deployment is delayed by disagreements between the US and UN over the financing of the operation. The US agrees to provide 50 Armoured Personnel Carriers but falls out with the UN over who will pay for and transport them. It is a full month before the US begins sending the APCs to Africa. They do not arrive until July.

## 22 MAY

RPF forces gain control of Kigali airport and Kanombe barracks, and extend their control over the northern and eastern parts of Rwanda.

## 22 JUNE ESTIMATED DEATH TOLL 616,000

With arguments over the deployment still continuing, the UN authorises an emergency force of 2,500 French troops under Operation Turquoise to create a "safe" area in the government-controlled part of Rwanda. The killing of Tutsis continues in the "safe" area despite the presence of the French.

## 4 JULY ESTIMATED DEATH TOLL 720,000

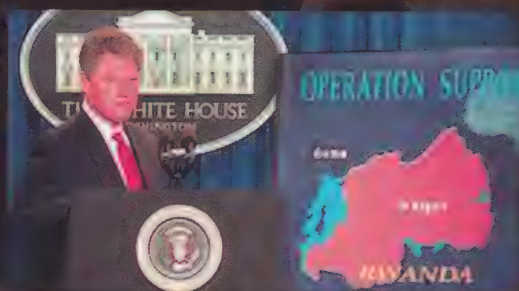
The RPF takes control of the capital and declares it will form a government on the basis of the Arusha Accords.

## 13-14 JULY ESTIMATED DEATH TOLL 780,000

Refugees fleeing the RPF advance in northwestern Rwanda flood into Zaire. About 10,000-12,000 refugees per hour cross the border into the town of Goma. The massive influx creates a severe humanitarian crisis because of the lack of shelter, food and water.

## 13 MAY ESTIMATED DEATH TOLL 296,000

Horrified by the scale of the killings, some members of the UN Security Council are ready to increase General Dallaire's force. Dallaire's plan is for 5,000 more troops to secure Kigali and create safe havens in the countryside. But the State Department instructs UN Ambassador Albright to work to modify the plan. The US wants to create protected zones in Rwanda's border areas, a less risky option for intervening troops.



## 3 MAY ESTIMATED DEATH TOLL 216,000

The Clinton administration unveils its long-planned new peacekeeping doctrine (Presidential Decision Directive 25) which limits future operations to those that are in the US "national interest".



## 25 MAY ESTIMATED DEATH TOLL 392,000

President Clinton makes a speech that restates his policy that humanitarian action anywhere in the world would have to be in America's national interest. "The end of the superpower standoff lifted the lid from a cauldron of long-simmering hatreds. Now the entire global terrain is bloody with such conflicts, from Rwanda to Georgia. Whether we get involved in any of the world's ethnic conflicts in the end must depend on the cumulative weight of the American interests at stake."

## 18 JULY ESTIMATED DEATH TOLL 800,000

The RPF announces that the war is over, declares a cease-fire and names Pastor Bizimungu (pictured) as president.





# The far-right breakthrough (and return) in Spain

**By Gemma Pinyol-Jiménez** Head of Migration Policies, Instrategies. Associate Researcher GRITIM-UPF

REGARDING the rise of the far-right in Europe, Spain has been part of the EU exception in the last decade, being one of the few EU countries without a strong far-right party in the political arena. This exceptional situation ended in the Andalusian (the southernmost and more populated region in Spain) elections last December, when Vox irrupted with 11% of votes and became a parliamentary party. After the 28 April elections, Spain has the dubious honour of being another EU country with far-right representation, with a significant increase in the last years. In 2016, the party collected 0.20%

of votes: in the 2019 general elections, Vox won 24 seats with 10.3% of votes.

The Catalan crisis, the nationalist polarization, its outsized exposure given by media, the role of social networks and the “normalization” of far-right discourses worldwide could be factors to explain this rapid rise. It could also be explained by the dual nature of Vox, that links past and current far-right precepts. Vox has collected the Franco nostalgic supporters and it also invokes a Mythic Past (evoking *la Reconquista* or “Make Spain Great Again”) to underline their nativism and ultranationalist character.

On the other hand, in a context of contagious illiberalism and similarly to other EU far-right parties, Vox uses harsh anti-migrant and Islamophobic discourses, as well as an anti-feminist (using a pejorative term such as “feminazi” to describe the feminist movement) narrative. Differently from other EU far-right parties, Euroscepticism is not yet a crucial feature for Vox voters, although fighting against any perceived loss of sovereignty is in the DNA of the party. Surely, as Vox will join other far-rights parties in the next European Parliament, they will have time to learn about new ways to sow division and attack diversity. ■





# What's Great about a Great Get Together?

By Jemma Levene

IT SEEMS BARELY credible that this time three years ago, we were only one month into the Referendum Campaign. People were not yet instantly pigeon-holed as Remainers and Leavers, and welcomed into or rejected from friendship circles as a result. And then, at the height of the campaign, Jo Cox was murdered in an act of far right terrorism, shot in the street as she left her constituency surgery in Batley. Her murder, the first of a sitting MP since Ian Gow was murdered by the IRA in 1990, shook the nation, and led to over a hundred community events taking place that summer, as communities came together to celebrate Jo's life, using the now famous words from her maiden speech in Parliament, to demonstrate that we have more in common than that which divides us.

Immediately after the Referendum vote, there was an instant spike in hate crime with victims including those of Eastern European origin, but extending to affect all minority groups.

In the three years since, there is no doubt that Britain has become more divided, with a growth in mistrust, overt prejudice and hate crime. The level of reported hate crimes after the Referendum has remained high, and there has also been a decrease in general tolerance, a decline in public trust, an increased reluctance among all groups in society to engage productively with people who hold different views to each other. This is particularly true of people's attitude towards Brexit, where it is common to hear open expressions of hostility and even contempt from both sides of the Leave/Remain debate.

In these three years, we have witnessed far too many catastrophic events. We have seen too many targeted attacks in the UK, like the Manchester, Westminster and Finsbury Park terrorist attacks. Internationally, we have seen crisis events because of political upheaval, like the migrant deaths in the Mediterranean perhaps best epitomised in the public consciousness by the death of Alan Kurdi. And most recently, we have seen the white supremacist terrorist attack in Christchurch, New Zealand.



Quite literally on the other side of the world from us, the impact of this attack has been felt deeply across the UK. On the one hand, we have seen extraordinary acts of solidarity and kindness, but on the other, there was a reported 593% increase in anti-Muslim hate crimes in the UK in the week afterwards, many of them referencing the Christchurch attack.

Whatever happens with Brexit in the coming weeks, it seems likely that the raised levels of tension and hostility that we have seen up until now will grow further. Whatever the outcome, there will be people who feel angry and betrayed by what is decided, and this is likely to spill out into our communities, creating more division.

It is against the backdrop of all this hate, fear and anger that we can help to make a difference, to bring back some positivity and hope into our local communities. There are countless ways to make a difference locally, and this year more than ever, getting involved in the Great Get Together weekend is a great opportunity.

The Great Get Together is an annual weekend of events run across the UK in memory of Jo Cox. We're very excited that this year we'll be working with Kim and Catherine at the Jo Cox Foundation to make sure the Great Get Together weekend sees people running and joining events in their communities all

over Britain. Now more than ever, it feels like communities want to come together to celebrate and to build relationships.

The weekend takes place this year on 21-23 June, on what would have been Jo Cox's 45th birthday.

HOPE not hate will be helping communities to organise some special events around the country, but we are also really keen to see our supporters run their own, whether that means a street barbeque, a picnic in the local park, or having the neighbours over for tea and cake.

We'll also be suggesting that people who get organised a Get Together over that weekend think in advance about things that people would like to see happen in their local community, and use the Get Together as a way to get people to sign up and get involved. Whether that's a litter pick, a park overhaul, some daffodil bulb planting near the local primary school, we hope that people will use the Great Get Together as a springboard for positive action at a community level.

Fixing the rifts that have been building in Britain over the last three years is going to take time, and a commitment from all the many and varied groups which make up our national identity to reach across perceived divisions and find common ground. Let's start by making this year's Great Get Together the biggest and most impactful yet. ■

**You can sign up to get involved with the Great Get Together directly on the GGT website, or for more details, contact us on [info@hopenothate.org.uk](mailto:info@hopenothate.org.uk) and we'll get you started**



# Great British School Swap has revealed the shocking racism we all should see

By Owen Jones



Great British School Swap puts youngsters from different backgrounds in schools where their race is the minority Photo: Channel 4

CHANNEL 4'S GREAT British School Swap has been an eye opener – even for me, someone who works with hundreds of schools to tackle prejudice across the UK. What shocked me most in the programme – where pupils from different cultural and racial backgrounds swap – was how each community displayed extraordinary levels of ignorance towards the other but only lived a mere 15 miles apart. Although some moments have been highly amusing, such as asking where the Halal lettuce is or being unable to recognise the national anthem, the show has painted a worrying picture of how divided parts of the country are, leaving unfortunate breeding ground for prejudice. It is why TV programmes like this are so important.

We, as humans, suffer from 'ethnocentric bias'. In a nutshell, this is where we trust people that look like us or from the same community. This is why in apparent multi-cultural schools the different cultural groups may be huddled together at lunchtime. I am sure Channel 4 has sparked some much needed debates in

living rooms across the country.

The consequence of this is that many of our cities and towns are siloed by class, race and religion. The reality is much more extreme than Channel 4 is able to present. Many communities are unaware of life a few roads from them, let alone 15 miles away, which was highlighted by the tragedy in Grenfell. This is why the shock tactics used in programmes like this are so powerful: they make us sit up and pay attention to what is really going on. Many of us probably know that there are issues within society, but do we really know how bad they are – or the impact that inaction is having on younger generations? I was moved by the reactions the students had when the Asian students were labelled as terrorists or the white students as drunks. But do not believe that any of those students were racist or held deep prejudices: they are just a victim of circumstance. A victim of us living within easy comfort zones.

Through my work with Hope Not Hate we hear students daily come out with racist or xenophobic remarks in the classroom. The vast

majority of these students are not actual racists, they simply know no better and have little understanding of the impact their words could have on the community they are referring to. It is through shock tactics, like those used by Channel 4, we can sit up and make things different. For instance, one cannot help but admire the impact that David Attenborough's Blue Planet documentary has had on us finally challenging ourselves on the use of plastics and impact our lifestyles are having on the natural world.

One of the beautiful transitions in the Great British School Swap is when the parents stop referring to 'us' and 'them', instead using 'we'. So let me wish for more programmes like these, which shock us off our sofas and into action. I am sure Channel 4 has sparked some much needed debates in living rooms across the country. Hopefully this is springboard to more change and a more united Britain. ■

**Owen Jones** is the Director of Education and Training at HOPE not hate.



# Brain force for Brits

**Is Alex Jones launching an infowars copy in the UK?**  
By Simon Murdoch

PAUL JOSEPH WATSON, editor of InfoWars, has announced that he will soon be launching a new venture.

Speaking on 5 March on the show of Alex Jones, the notorious US conspiracy theorist and founder of the InfoWars media outlet, long-time InfoWars contributor and British far-right conspiracy theorist Paul Joseph Watson revealed that he would be launching a news site “where all my material is housed, and hopefully longer term we’re gonna get more writers on board”.

He stated that he will be heading the project, but hopes to “generate the next generation of YouTubers, of young political commentators.”

While he will be “head honcho” of the new organisation, Jones added that the project was “pretty much [his] idea” and had been in the works for some time.

Watson also added that his project will still involve “working together” with InfoWars and that his new organisation would still “be affiliated” with it.

## FUNDING

In 2018 HOPE not hate started to hear rumours that Jones was planning a UK-based front group, with different branding, and possibly as much as \$1,000,000 in seed capital to get the project off the ground.

It’s been said that Jones’ intention was, as is the case for InfoWars in the US, to sell his widely criticised health and energy supplements to followers of this new project in the UK and Europe via product endorsements and advertisements in its videos.

Since 2013 InfoWars’ US business model switched from bringing in revenue through subscriptions, conventional advertising and merchandise, to an operation that focuses on hawking dubious supplements and survivalist equipment to its supporters.

It appears to have been highly lucrative, with New York Magazine’s



InfoWars host Alex Jones. Alex Jones/YouTube

Seth Brown estimating that between February 2015 and 2017, these supplements could have brought in between \$15m and \$25m.

It is perhaps no surprise then that Jones might be interested in opening up the potentially lucrative UK market to his products.

In July 2018 the ‘InfoWars YES’ domain was registered and appears to be taking an alternative approach to the traditionally hyperbolic, macho branding of InfoWars’ products (such as ‘Brain Force Plus’, ‘Alpha Power’, ‘Super Male Vitality’ and ‘Ultimate Bone Broth’). The InfoWars YES site features a calmer-than-usual looking Jones imploring visitors to the site to “Say yes to nutrition, skincare, energy, opportunity”.

The site sells products made by Jeunesse Global (JG), a multi-level marketing company based in the US which, in addition to making and selling the supplements themselves, encourages people and organisations – as is the case with InfoWars – to become distributors too.

In October 2018 Jones had Conrad Padilla, an ‘Emerald Director’ of JG, on his InfoWars show and hinted at a broader picture. Jones introduced Padilla by saying that “we can use [JG] to sponsor some very exciting things that a little birdie has told me about that are going to be happening in Europe very, very soon... I’m just gonna stop right there.”

## PROSPECTS

After being dealt major deplatforming blows in 2018, Watson’s new project could serve as a vital lifeline for InfoWars’ efforts and Jones’ partnership with JG may be his route to replicate his business model abroad.

As Media Matters’ Timothy Johnson has noted, “While host Alex Jones and many of his primary Infowars channels are banned from YouTube, Watson currently maintains a YouTube page with more than 1.5 million subscribers.” Moreover, as Johnson adds, Watson’s reach to a younger audience could be especially useful for Jones. Not only has the latter recently appeared on the hugely popular Joe Rogan Experience podcast, but InfoWars’ Kaitlin Bennett’s recently appeared on the show of major YouTuber Logan Paul, which was endorsed by Jones because its hosted by “college kids that the tweenies and 13-year-olds look up to.”

Despite his attempts to establish distance from Jones and InfoWars, Watson’s new venture is likely to be more of the same reactionary, conspiratorial nonsense we have come to expect from Jones and his media empire, and if these business developments are anything to go by, it will rely on a business model that likewise feed off the fears it cultivates. ■



# The fall and fall of Paul Golding

**He was once Britain's most prominent far right leader, but as Matthew Collins reports, Paul Golding stock is sliding into oblivion.**

**By Matthew Collins**





**C**hristmas 2018 and another fight breaks out in a busy Belfast bar. It's a bar with a reputation for good food. It also has a reputation for hosting boozy luncheons thrown by more than just one Belfast paramilitary Godfather.

Out onto Bradbury Place they stumble, nobody is even sure how many people are involved. In the middle of an almighty bundle is Paul Golding, leader of the far-right Britain First. Suited and looking emotional, Golding is throwing punches while his uniformed followers are fighting among themselves.

Later, down onto the Newtonards Road in East Belfast they converge, looking for another pub or bar that will stomach their raucous behaviour. Money is no object-Golding is buying the drinks – producing bundles of ten and twenty pound notes as he orders more pints, shorts and shots. A gold bracelet hangs off his wrist as he clenches a bruised knuckle. He hands over enough wedge to buy everyone in the bar a Christmas drink. It's respectful behaviour; the leaders of the local Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) may all be out of the country for some winter sun, but that doesn't stop people twitching and telling tales.

Golding the 'Plastic Godfather' obliges and poses with admirers who want their pictures taken with him. His last remaining bastion of celebrity is for the time being Belfast – in the Protestant heartlands dominated by Loyalist paramilitaries.

For the benefit of Britain First's followers and detractors back in Britain, the message is clear: Golding is mixing it with the big boys now, sitting in their chairs in their bars, under their portraits. Those Presbyterians love a uniform and Golding the convert has been sticking it to the 'big house' unionists on their behalf about immigration and Roma Gypsies stealing their homes and breaking into cars.

It had been like this ever since Golding re-settled Britain First in Northern Ireland earlier that year. He and his uniformed 'Defence Force' even intimidated a Unionist politician whose party is supposed to have strong links to the Ulster Defence Association (UDA), a murderous gang that along with the UVF normally dish out the threats and violence in Loyalist, Unionist areas.

The next day and after a large, cooked breakfast, Golding and an associate will visit the home of a local man and attack him on his doorstep. The local paper calls it a "punishment"

beating. The local UDA and UVF look the other way, but no-one is entirely sure for how long this will be the case. While in Belfast, Britain First may be titillating the locals with gripes against immigration and Islam, but Paul Golding and his procession of uniformed dregs are beginning to irk people here, too.

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Where it went wrong for Britain First is not difficult to surmise, but that it has is becoming increasingly clear. One bad and ill thought publicity stunt after another has taken its toll.

The far right political party – often self-described as a 'force' or a 'movement' – once dominated social media and Sunday papers. They had the 'support' on line at least, of over two million people, many unwittingly spreading viral memes about starving dogs and old soldiers that would boost the coffers of Britain First further down the chain.

Resplendent in controversial uniforms, Paul Golding and his supporters would turn up on the doorsteps of Muslim extremists, harassing and threatening those they and the *Daily Mail* felt were a threat to our way of life. And then there was God. In defence of Christianity, wherever it faced apparent peril Golding along with his off-sider and former lover Jayda Fransen would march into what they felt was an Islamic lion's den brandishing crucifixes to cast out the devil.

Swigging cans of beer outside East London mosque, crashing armoured personnel carriers on Brick Lane, thrusting bibles in the faces of Imams and fleeing Bradford in fear of their lives. Stunts that would keep Golding and his co-conspirator Jayda Fransen in the news.

Now thirty-seven years of age, Paul Golding has always had supreme confidence in himself; his intellect, leadership qualities and his potential. Sadly for Golding, he has little faith in himself. He frustrates himself and panics when things don't go right. He abandons homes, plans, plots and individuals as quickly as he comes up with or recruits them – reportedly lashing out with jealousy and falling into dark, paranoid and often violent moods.

The very early reports that came out of Britain First when it began to really hit the headlines in 2012-2013, were of bottles of vodka, diet pills and anti-depressants strewn across hire cars and hire vans. Back in Belfast, the former

British National Party fundraiser, Jim Dowson would pick up the pieces and bank the cash as it rolled in.

Dowson had nurtured Golding, the former down at heel BNP councillor from Kent, into a leadership contender. As the BNP nosedived in 2010 and violent recrimination engulfed the party. As a councillor on Sevenoaks District Council, Golding, who was also the BNP's grandly titled Communications Officer, had shown his flair for belligerence and headline making. As inevitable questions arose about his commitment to the job, he made a series of empty threats to local newspapers about the power and ability of the BNP and himself to financially ruin them if they did not stop criticising the party and, in particular, him.

Some seven months after he was elected in February 2009, Golding's constituents in St Mary's ward complained he had "done nothing" for them since being elected, and they parted ways, with him heading off to Northern Ireland and out of the BNP.

Under Dowson's tutelage, Golding found God. The bible was to become, like Dowson, Golding's long-term emotional crutch. The pair launched the National People's Party which quickly became Britain First (BF) in 2011, forcing Golding to finally quit his paying job as a councillor.

By 2013 Golding and Dowson had made BF a magnet for fundamentalist Christians, conspiracy theorists and military obsessives. The party would eulogise about and preparing for a coming Armageddon straight from the passages of the bible. The coming war was between Christianity and Islam.

With the BNP and the English Defence League (EDL) both in perilous states of collapse and the growth of conspiracy theory on social media, it was not long before Britain First became pre-eminent on the far right, on and offline. Membership peaked, we are told, close to 2,000 by 2013.

As the money and the publicity rolled in, so did the problems. A healthy paranoia is one thing, but Golding and Dowson fought over money and God. Both played significant roles in Northern Ireland's crippling flag dispute in 2012 about the flying (or not) of the Union Flag over Belfast City Hall. But it was Dowson, standing shoulder to shoulder with hardened paramilitaries as violence boiled over, who would pay the price for their involvement.

In 2013 Dowson found himself placed under near house arrest under strict laws used in Northern Ireland

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normally to curtail the activities of paramilitaries and with that came a ban on using mobile phones or social media.

Without Dowson's patriarchal guidance, Golding focused more of his attention on his own image and the attentions of a young woman from Kent who had become disaffected with the EDL – former law student Jayda Fransen.

A devout “returned” catholic, Fransen set up a series of rented homes with Golding which were filled by bibles, crucifixes and large numbers of the party's voluntary security personnel. Not only did Golding demand a car at the ready 24 hours a day, he also demanded a bevy of voluntary security personnel be outside whichever property the couple stayed at. According to one former member of Golding's security team, the relationship between he and Fransen was quite often “volatile.”

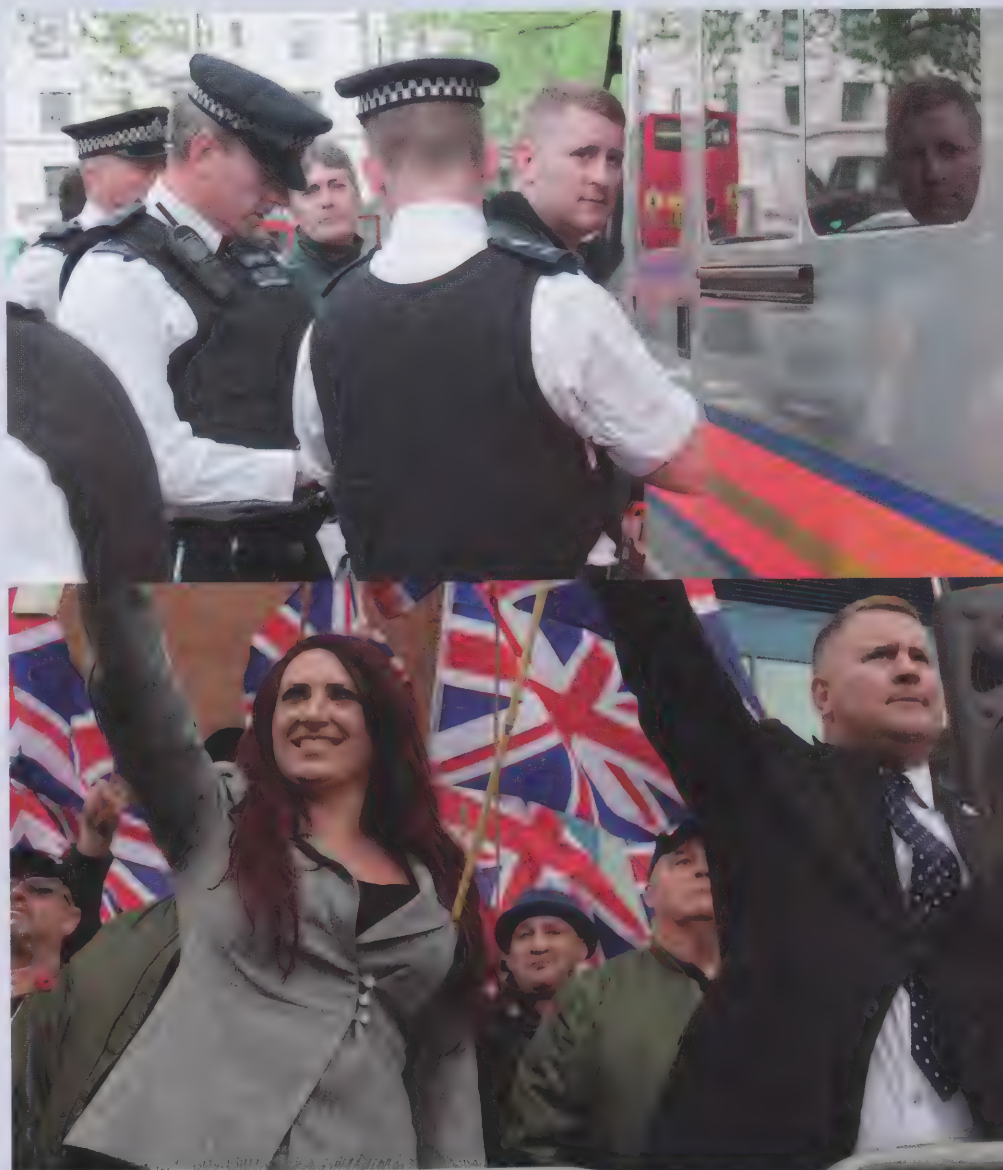
Golding afforded Fransen a full time salary and the position of deputy leader. However, rather than enhance Golding's reputation, Fransen's own popularity, good looks and intelligence created not a dependable ally in the party, but in his own mind, a bitter rival.

In 2014 Jim Dowson publicly quit Britain First at the same time that the group's provocative activities were attracting the attention of the authorities.

Legal, personal and financial problems quickly began to grow. He was also beginning to become obsessed by Fransen. Without Dowson's constant oversight, the party's social media and administration had fallen into disrepair, not helped by Golding using party funds to support his increasingly chaotic lifestyle and whims.

While the media was still giving Britain First a status it didn't deserve, like a *Sun* article that claimed that the party had 6,000 members at the time of the Rochester and Strood by-election, the truth was quite different. The party polled just 56 votes in the hotly contested parliamentary by-election, surprising and demoralising supporters.

Throughout their controversial campaigning and fundraising the risks of jail was never far away for Golding and Fransen. On more than one occasion Golding would even offer himself up for arrest – a dangerous and cynical game to play, but one that delivered bundles of outraged donations into party coffers. Britain First also became more provocative, largely to head off the threat of Golding's more charismatic rival



Stephen Lennon – better known as Tommy Robinson – or “The Luton Leprechaun” as Golding disparagingly referred to him.

Lennon's legal and other difficulties even encouraged Golding to stomp with uniformed supporters through his rival's hometown of Luton on more than one occasion, but this quickly backfired as a court order prevented him from entering the town again and going anywhere near a mosque anywhere.

Golding had begun issuing personal and chilling threats to his political and personal enemies whilst filming his footsoldiers undergoing physical training with weapons. The week after one such training session with BF supporters in June 2016 the Labour MP Jo Cox was murdered by a far-right fanatic in Dewsbury, where Golding and Britain First had been very active.

The MP's killer shouted ‘Britain First’ during the attack, though there was no indication that he was part of the group.

Golding spiralled into depression and over-eating as a consequence

of all the resulting negative publicity following the murder – which only compounded his already growing problems.

In November 2016 Golding took a temporary hiatus from politics, handing the party over to Fransen. A month later he was sentenced to eight weeks in prison for breaching a court order to stop him from entering mosques.

When rumours circulated that Stephen Lennon was about to march again with the EDL at a demonstration in Bristol in January 2017, Golding exploded with impotent rage from his prison cell and on his release made his most chilling video to date.

“All the politicians, all the journalists who have spent their careers undermining our nation, you **WILL** succumb to this movement eventually” he warned. “I can promise you, from the very depths of my being, you will all meet your miserable ends at the hands of the Britain First movement. Every last one of you.”

From this moment on, Golding





(left) May 2014 Golding arrested after a confrontation with members of Anjem Choudary's al-Muhajiroun outside of the Indian Embassy in London

(right) Belfast 2013: Golding on a Protestant Coalition demonstration with a cut out of Dowson, who is banned from all political and religious marches

(below) Golding with his off-sider and former lover Jayda Fransen

Fransen, allegedly by a former lover who went to the newspapers to make allegations of sexual and physical assault against the BF leaders'.

Seeing Belfast as the perfect bolthole, Golding threw himself and Fransen into a host of controversial encounters there which are said to even include forming an alliance with a former paramilitary commander of the outlawed Ulster Defence Association (UDA) and a convicted rapist who, like the commander, is living under the threat of death from the UDA in Belfast.

The BF pair were already facing charges for interfering in a rape trial in England when they were arrested in Belfast in December 2017 for speeches made in August that year. In March 2018 Golding and Fransen were both found guilty at Folkestone Magistrate's Court for religiously aggravated assault. During the trial it was alleged Golding threw Fransen "under a bus" by blaming her for the whole affair. The party was in tatters. Fransen's home had a court order issued against it and she found herself facing 36 weeks in prison while Golding was sentenced to 18 weeks. Straight after sentencing, Facebook – Britain First's financial lifeline – removed the party's page.

With Golding and Fransen both absent from duty, the party's administration was passed to controversial Belfast councillor Jolene Bunting, who then became embroiled in a bitter war of words with the Golding family based in Kent. Britain First fell into paralysis. A faction behind Fransen completely disengaged from the Golding faction in Kent and aligned themselves with Jolene Bunting. This would be, in turn, geographical suicide as Golding was about to move his party loyalists to the province and quickly accused Bunting, in July 2018, of fraudulent accounting – a charge she strenuously denied.

Now ensconced in Belfast, Golding issued legal proceedings against Facebook using legislation made under the Good Friday Agreement, primarily for the benefit of former paramilitary combatants. Together with a team dragged from the North West and the fringes of Belfast society, Golding has been a constant source

of controversy in the province.

This includes further charges relating to his activities in Ballymena directed at the Romanian community.

In January, Jayda Fransen, who had been on a social media ban following her own release from prison, announced she was leaving the party. Despite owning a home in Northern Ireland (not withstanding a court order against the property) she has been denied access to travel to her address except for legal counsel and court appearances. Her last fundraising effort for Britain First was to be filmed being removed by the police from a Belfast-bound flight last Christmas.

Left almost bankrupt by her incarceration and facing increasing vitriol from Golding, Fransen appeared in court on Valentine's Day in relation to charges over speeches they both made in Belfast in August 2017 flanked by Jolene Bunting and burly security. Golding, meanwhile, appeared surrounded by a mob of bible thumping thugs.

Golding now faces the real threat of returning to prison in Northern Ireland at a time when the province has now become increasingly irritated by him. Even by the standards of a country that has tolerated a lot of intolerance, Golding's behaviour has irked most of his previous supporters and protectors.

While he magically reappeared on the streets of England during February, the whisper on the ground was that he has been declared persona non grata by both the UVF and UDA and told to desist with his lavish and divisive behaviour in Northern Ireland.

Journalists from the BBC in Northern Ireland working on Golding and Britain First have dug up one scandal after another and evidence of just how much money Golding and Britain First has pocketed from his string of his often self-inflicted court cases. One colony apparently tried sounding out whether Golding would be welcome under the protection of Loyalist paramilitaries were he to be imprisoned in Northern Ireland. He was told, in no uncertain terms: "No. Never."

Britain First and Golding are now back begging money to stand in May's council elections in England. They are placing ads on Facebook to remind former followers that the great con continues, but these days they are met by cynicism and dislike. Jayda Fransen, ensconced, when allowed, on the Loyalist heartland of the Shankill with Jolene Bunting may face losing her home, but she is having the last laugh. For now at least. ■

led Britain First on a course that was wholly destructive and degenerate, beginning with a damaging attempt to hook up with the antisemitic Polish priest Jacek Miedlar for a series of rallies. Miedlar was to be the first of several overseas extremists banned from entering the UK for BF events.

Further self-flagellation followed with a highly publicised meeting with Stephen Lennon, during which the former EDL man is alleged to have poked fun at the Britain First leader as the three of them demolished a Vodka bottle.

Rising like a proverbial phoenix from the ashes, Lennon's increasingly lucrative online operation drove Golding to destruction. Much of his anger was directed at his former lover Fransen who had begun to cultivate her own security detail within Britain First. With loyalties torn and paranoia rampant, allegations arose of a sexual assault on a Britain First follower in a Rochdale hotel. This was followed by the leaking of a series of embarrassing and compromising photographs of



# Modi and the rise of

**Sunny Hundal**

Tapan Ghosh speaking at the Hindu Samhati rally 2018. (YouTube)

IN OCTOBER 2017, one of Britain's most prominent Hindu groups invited an extreme Hindu nationalist to headline an event at the Houses of Parliament. It's astonishing that Tapan Ghosh, the speaker in question, was even allowed to enter the UK.

Ghosh was already notorious on social media for his noxious views on Muslims ("All Muslims are jihadis", "Muslim terrorism is a snake fed by the Americans, but the source is Islam", "How can we blame the Myanmar Buddhists for driving (the Rohingyas) out?"). Not long after the uproar that followed the event he was banned from Twitter.

But the incident was notable for other reason too. Ghosh praised India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi, alongside Trump and Putin, for "raising hopes amongst people against Islamic aggression." During his stay in London he enthusiastically met with Tommy Robinson, whom he praised on social media, and former Nick Griffin protege Jack Buckby.

The UK National Council of Hindu Temples, which invited Ghosh and refused to apologise after his views were unearthed, isn't new to controversy either. A few years previously it had invited Tommy Robinson as a keynote speaker to its annual conferences, cancelling the event only after a backlash that it instigated.

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India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi did not create modern Hindu Nationalism. But his election in 2014 was a watershed moment for the growth of this dangerous ideology. He is now its effective torch-bearer and most powerful proponent. But Hindu nationalism hasn't just seized India, it has also become a powerful force in western countries with a large Hindu diaspora, especially the United States and the UK.

At this point we need some brief explanations. Hindu nationalism is

more commonly known as **Hindutva** and is a politico-cultural ideology that seeks to encompass the religion. Similar to Islamism, Hindutva is not synonymous with Hinduism. Instead it seeks to weaponise the religion into a dangerous and violent political project. There are many Hindus who speak out against the Hindutva project, but the climate of fear and censorship created by the government is palpable.

Hindutva has a long and complicated history in India. It was first defined in the 1920s by an Indian independence activist called V.D. Sarkar. He saw it as a project bigger than Hinduism itself: a people that shared a common nation, a common race and a common civilisation. In this way, Hindutva even encompassed adherents of Sikhism, Buddhism and Jainism, since they were defined as off-shoots of Hindu civilisation, but explicitly rejected 'foreign' elements such as Christians and Muslims.

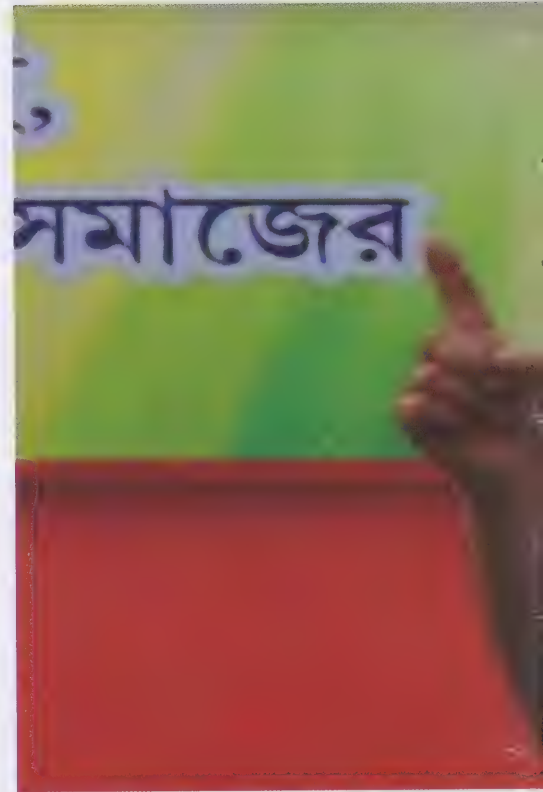
And this is the key point. The Hindutva ideology aimed not just to empower Hindus against the British Empire, it urged them to reject their Christian and Muslim neighbours as people who were polluting Hindu civilisation.

In that sense Hindutva is more than an ideology. It encompasses a political strategy to polarise Hindus against others. It teaches Hindus that non-Hindus are second-class citizens in India and the cause of internal problems. It calls on them to reclaim their dignity by treating others as inferior citizens.

Over the decades, successive leaders have tried to refine Hindutva but its essence remains the same: in India, Hindus come first.

Narendra Modi was the first Prime Minister in Indian history to take Hindutva seriously. He wasn't just a believer and a member of Hindutva groups during his career, he followed through with its supremacist logic.

In 2002, not long after he was elected



chief minister of the state of Gujarat, over a thousand of Muslims were slaughtered by Hindu mobs, ostensibly in retaliation for an attack on a train-carriage of Hindu worshippers. Reports by international human rights groups found the state government was complicit in the riots, ordering police to look away or even join in the awful atrocities. (Rights group also cited bravery by Hindus in trying to save Muslims from murderous mobs). Despite his denials all the evidence points to a calculated and organised pogrom.

Modi largely escaped blame in India but not internationally. The US and the UK banned him for entering their respective countries until his election in 2014 made it politically impossible to sustain.

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Modi has always maintained a strong and powerful connection to the Indian diaspora. But some misunderstand where this comes from.

Hindutva plays a part but the connection is more regional. A large proportion of British and American Hindus hail from Gujarat, Modi's home state. He connected with and built links with the Gujarati



# Hindu nationalism



diaspora right from the start of his political career.

In December 2002, an investigation by Channel 4 News found that funds from UK-based aid charities were going to Hindutva groups in India blamed for the 2002 pogroms. Channel 4 reported: "Several inquiries, including one by the British High Commission, saw the hand of the RSS (a sister-organisation to the BJP) and its associated organisations behind the (anti-Muslim) violence."

Not long after, a US campaign called Stop Funding Hate published a similar report alleging that an American non-profit group was secretly funneling money to Hindutva groups in India. The charity subsequently shut down.

After the banning of Modi and these exposes, the BJP focused less on raising funds abroad and more on using the Hindu diaspora for lobbying on its behalf.

MPs from across the political spectrum, especially Labour MP Barry Gardiner and Tory MP Bob Blackman, were mobilised to lobby on his behalf. Both have large and active Hindu constituents on their turf.

Most British and American Hindu groups started calling anyone who criticised Modi as 'Hindu-phobic'. In 2014, when a meeting was held in

Parliament to warn about Modi's past, a British Hindu group disrupted the event and accused it's organisers of "desecrating Hindu sentiments".

Just before the election there were extensive 'Skype conversations' that Modi held with Hindu groups in Britain and the US. He appreciated his international allies and continually developed those links.

At home and abroad, Narendra Modi has successfully linked the Hindutva project to a sense of Hindu pride itself. Hindu organisations in the UK and US have been hijacked, or in some cases merely persuaded, to tie the Indian government's agenda to that of the Hindu community itself. Hence dissent within Gujarati communities against Modi has been silenced.

And it's not just among the diaspora. In India, Modi's government has systematically worked to silence or drive out international NGOs that could be critical of his work: from development and human rights groups to even environmental groups such as Greenpeace.

Journalists critical of Hindutva and the government have also been targeted and silenced. By 2017 India became the third-worst country in the world for journalists, just ahead of war-torn Syria and Iraq.

And then there were a raft of lynching of Muslims for allegedly eating cow meat or smuggling cows - allegations that were usually proven wrong after investigation. The lynchings, which reached their height in 2017, seemingly started and stopped like someone had turned on and off a tap.

In a few weeks India goes to the polls again. In all likelihood Narendra Modi will come back as Prime Minister. The machine around him and his cult of personality is still strong. But there are cracks too. India has had lacklustre economic growth and farmers are facing some of their worst times in recent memory. In some parts of the country the mood has turned against the BJP. Victory may not be such a cakewalk this time.

In the west too there is resistance. The US has a larger community of secular and liberal Hindu activists. Some of them disrupted an event in Chicago just a few months ago, which created controversy by inviting a senior Hindutva leader.

The UK National Council of Hindu Temples has managed to evade serious scrutiny for now. But it's only a matter of time before it goes too far and invites a firestorm from outside and inside the Hindu community. ■



# Racism and fear wins

By Anton Goodman

The recent Israeli elections have resulted in a rightwing coalition government which promises to look near identical to the previous government, with most of the same parties and political players in place. While there has been little change in the government make-up, these elections have marked a shift towards racist rhetoric, leveraging a discourse of division, fear and hatred for political gain.

As an Orthodox Jewish Israeli working in a Jewish-Arab NGO in the field of civil rights in Israel, and active in the Peace community, it has been deeply depressing to see the fragile relations in Israeli society unravel, and more so to see the strongest voices against equality emanating from my own community.

Our President, Reuven Rivlin, summarised the election period as he handed the leadership of the next government to Netanyahu: "A lot of things were said that shouldn't have been said— not in a Jewish state, and not in a democratic state". This is just one of numerous attempts the President has made to redirect the conversation, resurrect democratic values, and reject racism. Unfortunately, he has been on the losing team, and the damage to values of peace and equality have been much broader than the toxic rhetoric he has rallied against.

Netanyahu's decision to call a snap election was a typically smart move, giving himself a clear advantage over his rivals who scrambled to create a new party and hone their

messaging. However, Netanyahu's initial focus was inside his own political camp, and in an early coalition bid, he convinced the party of the Religious Settler Movement, the Jewish Home, to unite with the radical Jewish Power party in order to guarantee that together they passed the electoral threshold. This move bestowed unprecedented legitimacy, and potential political power, on a group who had previously been viewed as racist hooligans, not kosher for political partnership. The impact of this move has been far-reaching and represents a watershed moment in defining the political spectrum in Israel.

I first encountered representatives of the Jewish Power party over a decade ago, in the Jewish settlement enclave in Hebron. I was running a dual narrative tour, bringing college-age Orthodox Jews to encounter Palestinian residents and Jewish settlers. This experience was taking place through the religious Jewish youth movement, Bnei Akiva,

not known for progressive politics, but still intellectually honest enough to accept my efforts to showcase multiple voices and the complexity of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Hebron is the most extreme example of the occupation, an apartheid reality with Jewish-only streets, and also home to the most radical in the settler movement. This tour was to be the last time I visited Hebron, as I faced physical threats from the settlers, and SMS messages were sent to dozens of religious Zionist leaders across Israel claiming that "the blood of Hebron martyrs is screaming from the ground" due to my efforts to meet and hear the stories of Palestinian residents. This incident is far from surprising. The heady mix of religious Judaism, nationalism and military victories, especially the Six-Day War (1967), has given birth to a new Jewish messianism, which at its most radical promotes violence and has created a ragtag structure for Jewish terrorism against Palestinians.

While this movement has several manifestations, the undisputed guru remains the late Rabbi Meir Kahane, who promoted violent protest to the peace accords with Egypt, and proposed virulently racist legislation as a Member of the Knesset [Israeli Parliament] in the 1980s. Throughout his tenure in the Knesset, Kahane was an isolated figure. The Knesset plenary totally emptied on his maiden speech as a sign of disgust for his racism. Kahane's political party Kach was outlawed in the mid-1990s, following their open support for the massacre of 29 Palestinians at prayer in the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron, by one of their members, Baruch Goldstein.

The most recent manifestation of Kahane's followers is the Jewish Power party. The party was formed by Kahane's most senior successors, several of whom carry multiple convictions and actively promote violent, vigilante behavior. Netanyahu's move of promoting their inclusion in the list of religious Zionist





# out in Israel



(far left) Jewish values at the polls: media campaign from Oz VeShalom: "Love Peace; Follow Peace", courtesy of the artist, Jon Michaelis

Encouraging voting: A social media post from the Abraham Initiatives in Arabic and Hebrew – "Vote. Influence. Against racism. For an equal future."

parties in itself signified a major shift in consensus, and opened the door to real political power for the most racist in our society.

In the midst of an ideological rift opening, the main victim has been the Arab citizens of Israel. Already the most vulnerable group in Israel, the Arab minority has been utilised as a political pawn to score cheap points, a tactic which has crossed party lines and infected centre and centre-left parties as well. Despite the fact that Arab society poses no political threat and has been systematically isolated from political power since Israel's independence, they found themselves as the target of delegitimisation and racist sentiment. Netanyahu's Likud party identified early in the election period that the major weakness of their rivals, the Blue-White List, was that there was no way

for them to swing power without forming a coalition with the Arab parties, or at least relying on them as a supporting bloc external to the coalition. This was quickly translated into the politics of fear, and became a tool to question the patriotism of the Blue-White leadership.

Working in one of the most important shared society organisations in Israel, the Abraham Initiatives, for me the vision of Jewish-Arab political partnership in Israel represents a utopian model for our democracy and would inherently go hand-in-hand with a peace process. But this is far from

how the Israeli mainstream views political partnership. Representatives from the Blue-White list were quick to disavow any connection at all to either of the two Arab political party lists. Moreover, they adopted the accepted racist rhetoric, and repeatedly explained to the press and at public events that they "would not sit with the Arabs". Not the Arab political parties. The Arabs.

Israel's Arab minority comprises 20% of our citizen society, the majority self-identify as part of the Palestinian people, but overall Arab society is remarkable diverse: religiously, politically, and ethnically. The mass grouping of this population as one homogenous entity, representing an internal enemy, is a deep misjustice, and heightens tensions in already strained Jewish-Arab relations. The impact of the delegitimisation campaign became apparent almost immediately. Combined with lowered trust in their own political leadership, Arab voter turnout was at an all time low, over 20 percentage points below the Jewish voter turnout. The immediate implication is a very low representation of Arab voices in this Knesset, and in the long-run it should be viewed as a warning sign for a less civically engaged Arab population who feel routinely isolated and disenfranchised by the state.

These elections have been difficult for all those who believe in equality, personal freedoms and a peaceful future. However, they have been useful in revealing the depth of racism within our society, and presenting the two challenges that Israel must address if it is to have a sustainable and just future.

Firstly, must address the radicalism within our society, focusing on the roots of that radicalism: religious Zionism. We need to pull apart the religious sector and dull the power that radicals have come to enjoy. As I said at a political panel days before the election, responding to a Kahanist who also featured on the panel – we may both wear kippot, but when your group is running wild through the market beating up Arabs, know that I will stand shoulder-to-shoulder with them, and not with you.

Secondly, it is not enough to solely counter racism, we have to provide a viable and empowering alternative. In Israel that alternative is Jewish-Arab partnership: social, economical and, yes, political. It is not enough to dream the future, we need to model it today.

Election periods stimulate heightened public political discourse, yet in between them, political discourse is sadly lacking. We need to retain a level of political hope in our society, so that people do not wake up at the next elections to a more extreme reality. ■

**Anton Goodman** is the Director of Development for the Abraham Initiatives, a Jewish-Arab NGO working for equality and shared society in Israel; and is a Member of the Board of Directors of Oz VeShalom, the Religious Jewish Peace Movement in Israel.





# Mainstream extremes in the Leave campaign?

By Anthony Painter

ONE THE MOST frustrating responses to the EU referendum has been for some of those on the remain side to question leave voters on attitudes to race. Such a questioning further deepens divides between those who voted leave and remain. Yet, the question of racism and the leave campaign itself is something that can't just be ignored.

Without impugning the motivation of leave voters in general are all there has at various points been an undoubted entanglement of racist messaging and fear mongering with the leave campaign. It would be a disservice to the UK's democratic conversation not to be clear about this tendency within the leave campaign - not least because it is a tendency that some mainstream politicians have been willing to tolerate seemingly to secure advantage for the leave cause.

When Tommy Robinson, who started life off as Stephen Yaxley-Lennon prior to assuming his now more recognised stage name, recently addressed a pro-leave rally on Whitehall his message focused on Islam and refugees. These themes are umbilically linked to messaging of the official leave campaign, fronted by Boris Johnson, Michael Gove and other establishment figures.

The spectre of refugees from the war torn Middle East pouring into the EU via Turkish accession was a deliberate lie of the campaign wrapped in the politics of fear. How do we know it was a deliberate play on fear? Because Michael Gove admitted it was so in an interview for a book a couple of years after the campaign.

To see that there was a deliberate strategy to stoke hatred is far from unfair. And as the debate over Brexit has intensified, a periodic dance between Brexit and the far right

occasionally moves into view. Some advocates of Brexit such as Iain Duncan-Smith and Jeremy Hunt (formerly remain) have seen fit to highlight the threat of violence should options such as a confirmatory public vote, which they are against, are pursued by Parliament.

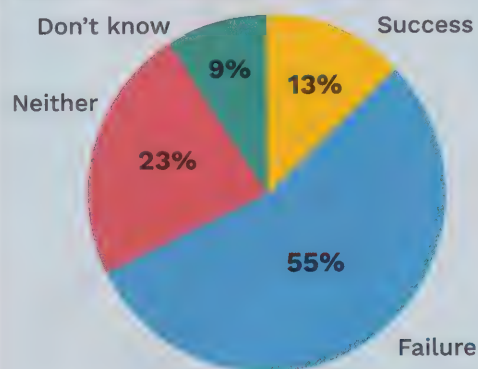
This completes a deeply concerning circle of racism, hate, threat, and fear. It is at best foolish and at worst deeply dangerous. Some MPs and even journalists have felt threatened by violence to the extent that extra personal police protection has been necessary. And, of course, one MP, Jo Cox, was tragically murdered by a far right terrorist during the EU referendum campaign itself.

To draw attention to these crossovers is not an attempt to stigmatise leave voters - far from it - and nor is the intention to suggest that any of these unfortunate crossovers come as a result of any sympathy for the extreme right amongst mainstream leave figureheads. The purpose is simply to point out that there are some on the leave side of the political mainstream who are willing to either turn a blind eye to hate and fear or worse, willing to turn it to their political advantage from time to time.

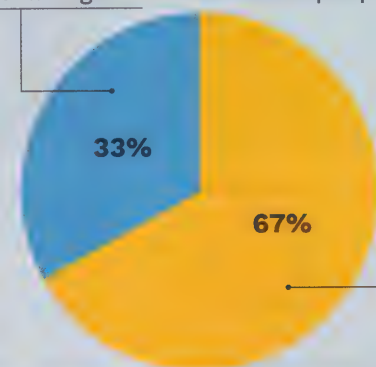
This is political blindness and high risk. It is not dissimilar to the way in which some mainstream Labour figures, including its Leader, have been not been sufficiently robust and consistent in responding to anti-semitism. At too many points in our political system institutional blindness had taken hold. The Leave campaign and what has followed is a deeply concerning case and more needs to be done to highlight where things have gone badly wrong - they most definitely have. ■

## Leave campaigner leaders have played on the fears and anxieties of many leave voters

Would you say that multiculturalism has been a success or a failure?

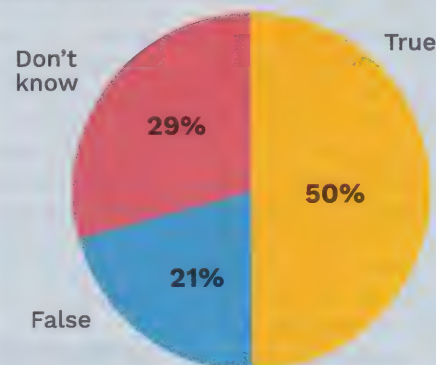


"White people continue to have real advantages over non-white people"



"Nowadays white people do not have any real advantages over others"

There are no go areas in Britain where Sharia law dominates and non-Muslims cannot enter



Anthony Painter is a member of the Hope not Hate Ltd Board.  
@anthonypainter



# It's time to down tools

**Matthew Collins examines the rise in racist incidents in football**

THE 2018/2019 football season is drawing to a close and leaves us with a season of seemingly endless, niggling, racist incidents.

Now when Saturday comes too often what follows is yet another video of an incident of racism from either inside or outside a stadium.

It was Alf Garnett – a comedic creation of Warren Mitchell of a brash, aging racist football fan – who opined football was working class ballet. Garnett's football with its pies and industrial language were his theatre with its monocles and haute couture. And racism in football, it seems, is at a low we have not experienced with such intensity since the 1980s.

From bananas thrown by Tottenham fans at a black Arsenal footballer to Chelsea fans in Prague marauding their hatred of Liverpool's Muslim footballer Mo Salah and then on to Manchester, where travelling West Ham fans were caught once more revelling in antisemitism. And in 2018/19, all too often these incidents of hatred are captured and widely disseminated on social media.

This season, Arsenal football club launched an investigation after one of their own fans was heard using the 'N-word' in their Europa Cup game against Italian club Napoli in April. Crystal Palace, a football club with a proud tradition of rearing black English footballers, had a small section of the crowd chanting the name of English Defence League (EDL) founder 'Tommy Robinson.'

From a position of relative and recent comfort, the English media and footballing authorities have been at the forefront of championing complaints about the treatment of black British footballers when playing abroad. These complaints became more worthy and had greater resonance once England supporters had ceased to boo and jeer their own black footballers ten or so years ago.

Two black English footballers, Danny Rose and Raheem Sterling, were recently targeted in Montenegro during a European qualification match. Whilst the Football Association and media roundly condemned and demanded action be taken against



Raheem Sterling, Belgium v England at the 2018 FIFA World Cup. Photo Soccer.ru

Montenegro, back home Sterling was himself only just emerging (quite brilliantly) as an articulate and confident challenger to an apparent campaign against him driven not from the terraces, but from a media seemingly obsessed with him being a young black man with considerable talent and wealth.

Rose meanwhile, has said he cannot wait to retire and put football behind him, due to the constant pressure or racist abuse he receives.

The problem of racism in football is one that will not and has not gone away. That racism is still apparent (and amplified) at football is no surprise but a reflection that racism in wider society is still prevalent and regardless of how much wealth, stardom and talent young black footballers experience, they are not immune from experiencing prejudice.

Across Europe, footballers have on isolated occasions walked off the pitch rather than listen to monkey chants and racist abuse – something that were it to have happened in the 1980's in England would have brought the English game to a standstill.

However, it is the behaviour of football 'fans' on social media that has further highlighted the problem of footballers being targeted, not during a match, but as an ongoing campaign of targeted hatred sent their way. Every black footballer in England has experienced mindless, racist abuse on social media. Football clubs cannot be held responsible for the behaviour of its fans on social media where in reality, this racist din sits alongside a growing chatter in the mainstream.

It is badly behaved football fans behaving badly in mainstream society that we are seeing further amplified.

Before Raheem Sterling spoke out about his treatment by the press in December 2018, there was a growing movement on social media to highlight and scorn the seemingly endless and pointless stories about what he bought while out shopping and where he went to eat. Sterling brought everything to the fore after he was targeted while playing for Manchester City against Chelsea.

Despite massive improvements tackling racism in football, it is clear from all these recent incidents that it has never gone away.

Our working class ballet reflects the standards and values of those who support it. Calls for more antiracist education in and around the sport are welcome, but this must also be reflected by a better-informed and educated society. Greater work needs to be put into zero tolerance for all kinds of prejudice in grassroots football, be that racism, antisemitism, homophobia or gender bias. More also needs to be done to bring through more black and Asian players, coaches and referees.

Raheem Sterling, Danny Rose and the thousands of others black and Asian footballers who experience racism are workers. If they walk off the job, like anybody in a workplace, we should support them and encourage them to put their tools down. If fines, arrests, humiliations and empty stadia do not help highlight a wider problem, then there should be no football for anyone. ■



# The populist and far right threat in the European Elections

By Matthew McGregor and Nick Lowles

Following the close of nominations in the EU elections, HOPE not hate is today publishing our first state of the race memo, looking at the possible gains or losses for right wing populism and the far right, how voters are reacting to the Brexit debate, and what is motivating people as they consider their vote.

Britain is deeply divided. Voters are more polarised than even following the 2016 referendum. This is largely down to the failure of Theresa May's government to seek, and find, consensus amongst voters following the referendum. The debate has largely degenerated into a zero sum battle between the two sides, with voters left to wonder how a way forward can be reached. Most voters have now given up on the chances of a consensus. Populist politicians like Nigel Farage and the far right are now seeking to capitalise on the anger.

Ultimately, the euro elections will be decided by who turns up to vote. The more people who vote, the lower the chance that Tommy Robinson (real name Stephen Yaxley-Lennon) or other far-right figures get elected – it's as simple as that. If you don't want the likes of Tommy Robinson or UKIP's Carl Benjamin to become MEPs, then you have to vote for another candidate.

Staying home helps Tommy and other candidates who will take the country down a darker and more divisive path.

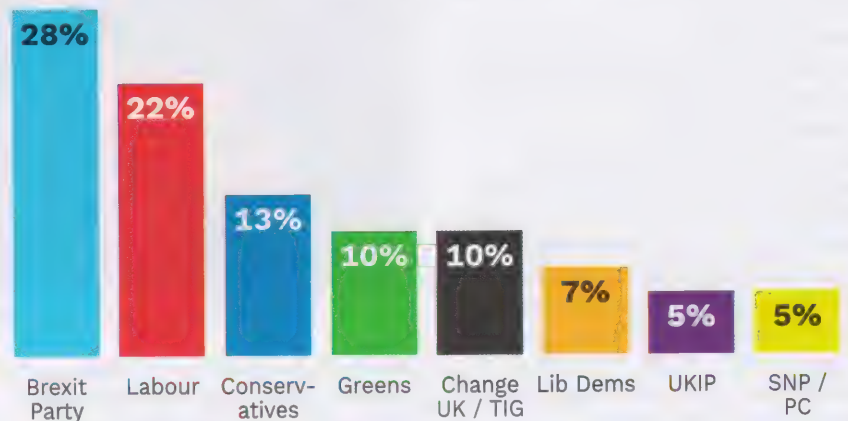
## OVERVIEW

The fieldwork for the first poll was undertaken between 10th – 11th April 2019. The survey was carried out online. Total sample size was 1,843 adults. The fieldwork for the second poll was undertaken between 23th – 26th April 2019 and the sample size was 5,412 people. The figures for both polls were weighted and are representative of all GB adults (aged 18+). The surveys were carried out online.

The key findings of the polling are:

- 9% of voters across the country have

Chart 1: 5,420 adults were interviewed by YouGov between 23-26 April 2019



Most voters have now given up on the chances of a consensus. Populist politicians like Nigel Farage and the far right are now seeking to capitalise on the anger. Photo: Gage Skidmore

a favourable or very favourable view of Tommy Robinson. 46% of people view him very unfavourably. The rest either don't have a view either way or have not heard of him.

- The radical right 'Brexit Party' has surged up to 28% in our European Election poll, predominantly on the back of a Tory collapse with May's party down to 13% but also from UKIP who have slumped to 5%. Labour is currently in second place with 22%. If this polling were borne out on election day, UKIP would not get a single MEP elected.
- The election is dominated by the issue of Brexit: 51% say that a party's policy on Brexit is the most important factor in deciding who to vote for, with only 17% of voters say they will be swayed by a party's policies on subjects other than Brexit.
- The majority of the British public place both UKIP and Nigel Farage on the right wing of British politics, bordering on far right. Despite his attempts to detoxify his image over the past year, the public put Nigel Farage slightly further to the right than UKIP 2017 Labour voters, young people and those who voted Remain in the 2016 EU referendum all put Farage in the far right category.
- UKIP's adoption of strident anti-Muslim policies appear to have



gone unnoticed by much of the electorate, who still overwhelmingly believe it remains a pro-Brexit and anti-immigration party.

## THE HORSE RACE

While HOPE not hate supports no political party and solely wants far right parties to fail to win seats in this election, it is worth looking at the state of the race across the board. If the election were held tomorrow, our 5,412 sample poll suggests the results would break down in the following way (see chart 1)

HOPE not hate analysis of the numbers suggests that these votes would break down in the regions to deliver the following MEP results:

Brexit Party:	29 seats
Labour:	18 seats
Conservatives:	10 seats
Greens:	4 seats
Change UK / TIG:	3 seats
Lib Dems:	2 seats
UKIP:	0 seats
SNP	4 seats

The Brexit party's surge is coming at the expense of Tory and UKIP votes but will result in them taking seats

## HOPE NOT HATE AND BREXIT

HOPE not hate exists to oppose racism and fascism, including at the ballot box. We want to promote inclusion, community and ultimately, hope. The euro elections are a key moment in our work – they provide an opportunity for the far right, and populists like Nigel Farage's Brexit Party. And this is a big moment in the battle over Brexit. HOPE not hate has been arguing that a hard Brexit, where Britain is outside the single market and customs union, would be disastrous for already struggling areas of the country, and create the terrain for the far right to thrive.

off all parties. If this polling holds, then it would see the Brexit Party win two of the three available seats in the northeast, and it would see Labour reduced to two seats in London. Under these numbers, only the Brexit Party and Labour will win at least one seat in every region of Great Britain. Looking deeper at the data, there are some points of interest:

- Brexit Party is gaining primarily at expense of Tories and UKIP. 53% of those people who voted Conservative in the 2017 General Election now say that they will vote for the Brexit Party in the European Elections. This includes 68% of those Tories who voted Leave in the EU Referendum. This compares to just 9% of all 2017 Labour voters and 5% of Lib Dem voters. Three-quarters of all those who voted

UKIP in 2015 now say that they will vote for the Brexit Party.

- The Conservative vote appears to be in free-fall, having dropped from 17% to 13% in just one week.
- UKIP is likely – on this poll – to lose every one of their seats. The closest it will come to winning is in the South East, where our poll puts UKIP on 7.9% and 8% is enough to win the final seat.
- Change UK – The Independent Group, the party set up by The Independent Group of former Labour and Tory MPs is moving up. It is mostly gaining at the expense of the Liberal Democrats, attracting a bigger share of their 2017 vote (28%), than either Labour (12%) or the Conservatives (7%).
- The Green Party is gaining 14% of the 2017 Labour voter, and a similar

## European Parliament Voting Intention by region

[Weighted by likelihood to vote, excluding those who would not vote, don't know or refused]

		Government Region											
		Total	North East	North West	Yorkshire & the Humber	East Midlands	West Midlands	East of England	London	South East	South West	Wales	Scotland
<b>Weighted Sample</b>		<b>5412</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>609</b>	<b>442</b>	<b>448</b>	<b>445</b>	<b>525</b>	<b>649</b>	<b>767</b>	<b>515</b>	<b>276</b>	<b>465</b>
<b>Unweighted Sample</b>		<b>5412</b>	<b>256</b>	<b>626</b>	<b>446</b>	<b>451</b>	<b>459</b>	<b>556</b>	<b>608</b>	<b>802</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>285</b>	<b>403</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	<b>16-17 Apr</b>	<b>23-24 Apr</b>											
Conservative	<b>17</b>	13	7	9	10	13	18	17	11	16	12	10	10
Labour	<b>22</b>	22	34	36	28	22	21	19	28	13	14	31	11
Liberal Democrat	<b>9</b>	7	4	5	8	4	4	7	10	10	11	6	4
Scottish National Party (SNP) / Plaid Cymru	<b>5</b>	5	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	11	42
Green	<b>10</b>	10	6	10	9	11	8	9	10	12	12	7	8
UK Independence Party (UKIP)	<b>6</b>	5	5	6	5	6	5	5	3	4	8	6	4
Brexit Party	<b>23</b>	28	34	27	31	33	34	32	19	32	33	24	16
Change UK – The Independent Group	<b>8</b>	10	9	7	8	11	8	10	17	13	9	6	5
Some other party	<b>1</b>	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1

Sample Size: 5412 GB Adults. Fieldwork: 23rd – 26th April 2019

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**European Parliament Voting Intention by seat** (excluding Northern Ireland)

	North East	North West	Yorkshire & the Humber	East Mids	West Mids	East of England	London	South East	South West	Wales	Scotland	TOTAL
Conservative	0	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	0	0	10
Labour	1	3	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	18
Liberal Democrat	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
SNP / Plaid Cymru	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
Green	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	4
UKIP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brexit Party	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	4	3	2	1	29
Change UK – The Independence Party	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>70</b>

share of the Liberal Democrat vote, though of course this is a much smaller number.

- Labour is losing votes to the clear-cut Remain and Leave parties:

- Only half of those voters who voted Labour in the 2017 General Election and Remain in the 2016 EU Referendum now say that they will not vote for the Labour Party in the forthcoming European Elections. 17% would vote Green and 15% for Change UK.

- Meanwhile, only a third of Labour Leave voters intend to vote Labour, with 33% backing the Brexit Party and a further 10% UKIP.

- While the proportion of Labour Leave voters defecting in this election is higher than Remainers, it is important to remember that the raw number of Labour remain voters is significantly larger than the pool of Labour leave voters.

**TURNOUT**

Polling is one thing, but the outcome of these European Elections will be determined by which voters are motivated to come out and actually cast their votes and the early indications are the supporters of the two main parties are less likely to vote than other voters.

Turnout in recent European Elections have been poor and well below that of General Elections or the EU referendum.

**2004 38.4%**

**2009 34.5%**

**2014 38.4%**

In our poll, 17% said that they were



Stephen Lennon, or 'Tommy Robinson' as he is also known as, has confidently launched a campaign to be elected an MEP.

“certain NOT to vote”, with a further 10% saying that they were unlikely to vote. The true figure will obviously be considerably higher, but the polling gives an indication as to which groups are more likely not to vote. Amongst the main parties, Labour Leave voters and Conservative Remain voters say they are less likely to vote than Labour Remain and Conservative Leave voters.

However, in a further good sign for the Brexit Party, UKIP 2015 voters, who overwhelmingly will back

Farage's party now, seem quite motivated to vote.

It would seem that a low turnout would benefit right-wing populist and far right parties, as well as Stephen Lennon (aka Tommy Robinson), whose supporters are likely to be very motivated to vote.

**'TOMMY ROBINSON'**

Stephen Lennon, or 'Tommy Robinson' as he is also known, has confidently launched a campaign to be elected an MEP. He has a band of highly passionate supporters from his EDL days, and is able to tap into the finances needed to run a high profile campaign.

But Robinson starts the race with extraordinarily high negative ratings from the voters:

- Only 9% of voters across the country have a favourable or very favourable view of Tommy Robinson. 46% of people view him very unfavourably.

- Only 3% of Labour voters have a favourable or very favourable view of him, with 64% have a very unfavourable view.

- The North West, where he's standing in the euro elections, also holds him in low standing: only 9% of NW voters have a favourable or very favourable view, with 47% having an unfavourable or very unfavourable view of him.

- A clear problem for Lennon is that many people who view him favourably will also like Nigel Farage and be tempted to vote for the Brexit Party. For Lennon to win, he will need to not only turn out the 4% of adults who view him in a very, very favourable light, but the additional 5% of voters who



view him favourably or even quite favourably. With the ceiling of his support appearing to be just 9%, he will need those people to actually come out vote.

This level of negativity towards Lennon might not be the hurdle it sounds: our estimates suggest that Lennon needs only 8.9% of the vote to be elected in the last MEP slot in the region. He will only be stopped if those people who hold him in a very unfavourable light actually go out to vote.

In 2009 BNP leader Nick Griffin was elected as an MEP in the North West after receiving 132,000 votes – at an 8% share, while in 2014 the turnout was just 33.5%.

HOPE has estimated the approximate number of votes Lennon needs to win to get elected under different turnout rates:

#### Estimated North West electorate 5,260,000

33.5% turnout = 1,754,000 voting  
140,000-155,000 votes

30% turnout = 1,578,000 voting  
126,000-138,000 votes

27.5% turnout = 1,446,000 voting  
115,000-125,000

25% turnout = 1,315,000 voting  
105,000-115,000

22.5% turnout = 1,183,000 voting  
94,500-102,000

Ultimately, whether Lennon gets elected will be decided by who turns up to vote. The more people who vote, the lower the chance that can sneak in. A key message throughout this campaign will be that by staying home voters could help Lennon sneak in.

#### UKIP

The polling appears to suggest that UKIP is heading for political disaster, as members and voters desert it for Nigel Farage's Brexit Party. While the shift to the far right under current leader Gerald Batten appears to have gone largely unnoticed, the combination of attacks by Farage, the slick launch and promotion of the Brexit Party, and extremist and quite obnoxious politics from some of its EU election candidates, has resulted in declining poll ratings and growing demoralisation amongst activists.

When thinking about the party's current position, a huge 41% of people think that UKIP is now a far-right party. Just 16% would disagree with this. Even one in six people who voted UKIP in 2015 now view UKIP as a far right party.

We can say that more people see UKIP as an anti-immigrant party than see it as anti-EU. Despite billing themselves as Eurosceptics, it is their xenophobia which is memorable: 25% say it is a racist party while 15% say it is a Eurosceptic party.

Media coverage of UKIP in these elections are a combination of Farage's

attacks on the party becoming "extremist" and "far right" and negative coverage of Carl Benjamin, the party's number two candidate in the South West. His jokes about rape and repeated racist comments might have excited his core internet supporters but have proved to be a major embarrassment and distraction for the party, and only further confirmed Farage's claim that the party is now extreme. This is on top of Lennon's association with UKIP, which has also been damaging.

If UKIP fails to win a single MEP and scores badly in next week's local elections, where it is standing 1,400 candidates, we are likely to see another wave of defections to the Brexit Party.

#### THE BREXIT PARTY

The Brexit Party's launch was slick and professional and that, coupled with the widespread anger at the failure to have left the EU, has catapulted the party to the top of the polls.

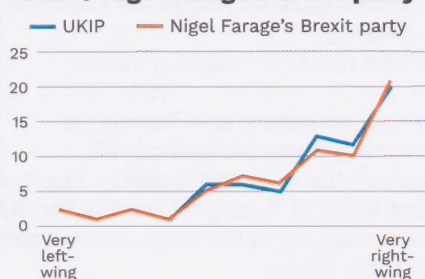
However, the majority of the British public view Nigel Farage's new Brexit Party as right wing as UKIP, the party Farage once ran but now considers to be "far right" and "too extreme".

Research by HOPE not hate reveals the public actually view the Brexit Party as slightly more right wing than UKIP. Asked to position the Brexit Party on a scale of 0-100, where 0 is very left wing and 100 is very right wing, respondents put the party on 74.2, slightly above UKIP's 73.5.

Respondents were asked to choose the words they most associated with UKIP

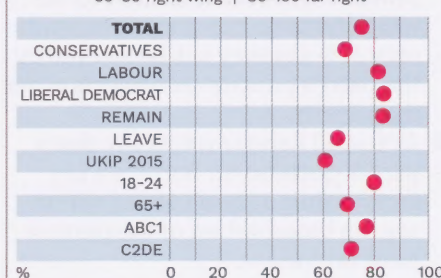
RIGHT-WING  
DON'T KNOW  
CENTRE-RIGHT  
PATRIOTIC  
MODERATE  
EXTREME  
RACIST  
FAR-RIGHT  
EUROSCEPTIC  
ANTI-EU  
PRO-BREXIT  
PRO-BRITAIN  
ANTI-MUSLIM  
NONE OF THE ABOVE

On a scale of 0 to 100, where 0 is very left-wing and 100 is very right-wing where would you place UKIP / Nigel Farage's Brexit party



How the British public view Nigel Farage on the political spectrum

0-20 far left | 20-40 left wing  
40-50 left of centre | 50-60 right of centre  
60-80 right wing | 80-100 far right



>>



While these results will have little impact on the Brexit Party's chances in the forthcoming European Elections, as there is a considerable minority of voters who back him strongly, it does highlight that Farage's attempts to detoxify his image over the past six months has failed.

Labour voters put the Brexit Party at over 80 on our scale, which is in the "far right" category, whereas Conservative voters mark it as 67.9.

Unsurprisingly those people who voted UKIP in 2015 saw the Brexit Party in the most favourable light, marking it down at 60.3 – a little to the right of centre.

There were big differences depending on how one voted in the EU referendum, on class and age. Remain voters think the Brexit Party is far right while Leave voters mark it as centre-right.

While clearly the Brexit Party is gaining most support from its anti-EU position, what is getting overlooked by most observers is that Farage is successfully tapping into the anti-politics mood – which is strongest amongst those people with the most strident pro-Brexit views.

## BREXIT

Brexit is dominating the euro elections, far above any of the other important issues facing the country. In line with previous HOPE not hate polling, the country is deeply, deeply divided:

- 40% of all voters want Brexit to be halted and UK to stay in EU
- 27% want to leave with no deal
- 11% want Theresa May's deal but with the UK staying in the Customs Union
- 10% want Theresa May's deal

Labour voters are now heavily for reversing Brexit (63%). Only 8% support the deal negotiated by Theresa May, while 11% support leaving the EU but remaining in the single market and customs union.

The poll shows that Brexit will dominate voters' decision making on who to vote for.

- 51% of voters say that a party's position on Brexit is the issue that will determine how they vote, while only 17% say they will be swayed by the party's policies on subjects other than Brexit.
- 49% of all Labour voters say that a party's position on Brexit is a key factor, while 32% of Labour voters say the broad values of the party is most important.
- 54% of Labour remainers say that



Brexit Party rally in Newton Abbot on 1st May 2019 (Twitter)

Brexit is their deciding issue in this election, while 47% of Labour leave voters say the same.

## A REALIGNMENT OF BRITISH POLITICS?

The Conservative Party and the Labour Party are braced for a political hiding in the European Elections, but are clearly hoping that these elections come and go and voters will return to their normal political homes before too long.

Of course, that might happen, but these elections could mark another step towards a more significant realignment of British politics. This realignment has been going on for some time but quickened and deepened after the EU referendum. Brexit is clearly the key issue of the day for voters and with both parties alienating large sections of their core support base it is perhaps unsurprising that political allegiances are beginning to shift.

A recent poll, undertaken by YouGov for HOPE not hate in early April, found that only 41% of voters said that they would vote for the two main parties if there was a General Election was held now. This compares to 82% who voted for the Conservative and Labour Parties in 2017. Obviously, our political system favours just two main parties, both of which then act as coalitions, but this might not always be the case in the future.

It would appear that the Conservative Party has most trouble, certainly in the short-term. Nigel Farage is clearly intent in making the Brexit Party a more long term project, promising to bring down the political order. For all his talk of attracting both Labour and Conservative voters, the reality is that the Brexit Party will hurt the Conservatives far more than it hurts Labour. Our polling suggests that for every one Labour voter it might attract, it will win over three Conservative voters.

This is not to say that Labour's

problems could not get worse – they really could. Over the next few days Labour is going to have to finally decide a position on Brexit and if there is no plan to halt and reverse Brexit (as two thirds of its 2017 voters want) or at least hold a confirmatory vote on any deal, then it's share of the vote is likely to fall further. Asked how they would vote if Labour went into a snap General Election promising to implement a version of Brexit, support for the Labour Party dropped to just 15%.

Both major parties might soon find out that once a voter has begun to vote for another party, their allegiance to their original party begins to loosen.

## CONCLUSION

a) Stephen Lennon (aka Tommy Robinson) has an actual chance of winning in the North West. He needs to get 8.9% of the vote, but if turnout slumps, as a lot of people expect, that could end up being as little as 110,000-120,000 votes.

b) Nigel Farage's Brexit Party is on course for a massive win and take as many as 40% of the seats available. Only the Brexit Party and Labour are due to win one or more seat in every region, but this poll suggests Farage beating Labour in the North East and reducing Labour to two seats in London. Labour is losing its remain voters to the clear-cut remain parties, and its leave voters to Farage. The Conservative Party is hemorrhaging votes to the Brexit Party, while many of its Remain voters feel disinclined to vote.

c) The strategic response to both A and B for the mainstream parties is to increase turnout, which requires giving people clear and strong reasons to turnout, and running an energetic but targeted campaign. It also means having a clear policy on Brexit – as that is by far the most important factor in determining how people are going to vote.



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